

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI(100-445393)  
(100-3-104-47)

DATE: 8/24/67

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO(157-459)(P)  
(100-42399)(P)

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.  
IS-C

CP, USA-COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
IS-C

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF

DATE 11/12/83

Re New York airtel to Director, 7/31/67, under  
above dual caption with copies to New York.

The September, 1967, issue of "Ramparts" contained  
a special editorial report written by Managing Editor ROBERT  
SCHEER in Cairo, 7/31/67. (xerox copies attached)

EGYPT This article supplemented the editorial in the  
7/67, issue (no August issue published) and placed this  
publication in a deep partisan position on a political  
problem of concern to many of its subscribers and financial  
contributors.

An analysis of SCHEER's latest editorial on the  
Near East dispute will not be made from a point of reference  
which is assumed to be impartial and factual, but from the  
viewpoint of a hypothetical average subscriber.

This average subscriber may be described as one who  
considers himself progressive and politically independent.  
His personality may entertain deep dissatisfaction which  
whets his appetite for articles of social criticism and  
political dissent. He has had past associations and sympathies  
for Jewish acquaintances, Israel, Jewish culture and Jewish  
suffering of Nazi persecution.

- 1-9/17/67  
1-9/19/67  
100-445393  
100-3-104-47
- 4-Bureau(RM) (Encls. 2) ENCLOSURE  
(2-100-445393)  
(2-100-3-104-47)
- 2-New York(RM) (Encls. 2) REC 54 100-445393-68  
(1-157-1300)  
1-100-129802
- 2-San Francisco  
(1-157-459)  
(1-100-42399)

EJO: sjt  
(8)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

CONFIDENTIAL

16 AUG 28 1967

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP1 YSK/bic  
REASON FOR EXT. 11, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW 8/24/72

Classified by 1533 12/5/83  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification

INT. SEC.

54 SEP 26 1967

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-3-104-47-1

SF 157-459  
100-42399  
EJO: sjt

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SCHEER's objective in writing this editorial is to influence this hypothetical reader without alienating him. The readers instinctive reaction of admiration and support of the Israelic victory must be deflected, confused or nullified.

SCHEER's editorial which was composed on the basis of his interviews and conversations while in Cairo under the guidance of Egyptian propaganda and intelligence personnel between 7/13-31/67, may appear to the average reader who is widely read on the facts in the Near East dispute to be pro-Nasser, anti-Israel and anti-U. S. SCHEER underplays the Soviets activity and responsibilities in the war. ~~C~~

(U)

There can be little doubt that SCHEER's position has alienated many subscribers, some financial contributors and perhaps several members of "Rampart's" staff.

With no sources to furnish this intelligence we can only speculate and read the external indicators such as the absence in the letters to the editor column of the 9/67, issue of any letter pro or con on the coverage of this topic in the prior (July) issue and the minority, pro-Israel report in the 7/67, issue by MICHAEL WALZER and MARTIN PERETZ, both on the Harvard Staff. *MISS*

RECOMMENDATION

*USA*

It appears appropriate at this time to develop the facts concerning the factional situation in the "Ramparts" organization and afford it widespread publicity.

Articles featuring the factional fight on "Ramparts" pro-Arab propaganda position would magnify the problem and expose the embarrassment of its staff. "Ramparts" during the past two years had been captured and transformed into a political publication. Its phenomenal growth was made possible by the coalition support of many new left and anti-establishment people. Its staff and its leaders are politically conscious and therefore, subject to dissension and deep division on difficult political questions.

SF 157-459  
100-42399  
EJO:sjt

Most of the information developed regarding "Ramparts" was by past interviews of its editor, publisher and managing editor by representatives of other publications. "Ramparts" spokesman have been very open and volubly in these past interviews as they have valued the sales promotion value of the publicity.

It is recommended that select correspondents or representatives of other publications or news services be contacted on their interest in writing a feature article and if they are interested, they could then be briefed on the character of "Ramparts" and the nature of its factional dispute.

In line with this recommendation, San Francisco requests permission to contact [redacted] who is a very capable interviewer and talented writer. [redacted]

b6  
b7C

It is not known if [redacted] will be in a position to develop a special feature article in his employment with INS but upon receipt of Bureau authorization he will be contacted in this regard.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 02-10-2011 BY 60324 UC/BAW/SAB/DF

100-44392-68

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE



8/28/67

1 - Mr. McGuire

airtel

①  
To: SAC, New Haven (97-159)  
ST-105  
From: Director, FBI (100-445393) - 69  
REC-24  
RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.  
IS - C  
REGISTRATION ACT

There is enclosed a copy of a memorandum from the Department which is self-explanatory.

C - You are instructed to advise whether the mortgage deed, referred to on page eight of SA [ ] report dated 6/16/67, shows the property was sold to "Ramparts," Ramparts Magazine, or Ramparts Magazine, Inc. You should also advise whether [ ] identified himself as an officer of "Ramparts," Ramparts Magazine, or Ramparts Magazine, Inc., when he signed the deed. Expedite.

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b7C

Enclosure

1 - San Francisco (157-459)

JHK:jes  
(5)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/18/80 BY [ ]  
C.D. [ ]

MAILED 19

AUG 28 1967

COMM - FBI

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

SEP 5 1967

TELETYPE UNIT

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

# Memorandum

TO : Director, Federal Bureau  
of Investigation

DATE: August 24, 1967.

FROM : J. Walter Yeagley  
Assistant Attorney General  
Internal Security Division

SUBJECT: Ramparts

~~SECRET~~

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b7C

In the report of SA [redacted] dated June 16, 1967, issued out of the Bureau's New Haven, Connecticut office, reference is made to a sale of a parcel of property to "Ramparts."

This Division is interested in ascertaining whether "Ramparts" the grantee, is the "Ramparts" magazine or an affiliate thereof, and you are requested to furnish any information available with respect to such grantee.

EXP. PROC.  
31 AUG 25 1967

DECLASSIFIED BY SP1 YSK/fic

ON 7/18/80

ST-108

REC-24

100-445393-69

29

AUG 29 1967

~~SECRET~~

INT. SEC.

CLERK TO SAC, NH (enc)  
JWK:jw 8/28/67 1-5F

FBI

Date: 8/29/67

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

FROM: SAC, PHILADELPHIA (100-49254)(RUC)

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.  
IS - C  
REGISTRATION ACT  
(OO: SAN FRANCISCO)

Re San Francisco airtel to the Bureau 8/17/67  
(no copy Newark).

Enclosed for the Bureau are three copies of an  
FD 302 regarding review of records of [redacted]  
[redacted] of IC [redacted] Enclosed for  
San Francisco are ten copies of the above 302, and for  
Newark two copies of the above 302, along with a copy of  
referenced airtel and an FD 302 dated 8/15/67.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

Indices of the Philadelphia Office fail to reflect  
any reference for Sugar Low Company or Sugar Lo Company.  
Also, a review of the telephone directories for Philadelphia  
and vicinity fail to reflect a listing for this company.

[redacted]

- 3 - Bureau (100-445393)(Enc. 3)(RM)  
2 - San Francisco (157-459)(Enc. 10)(RM)  
2 - Newark (Enc. 3)(RM)  
1 - Philadelphia (100-49254)

CJW/lpm  
(8)

REC 32

AUG 30 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/18/80 BY [signature]

54 SEP 11 1967

Approved: [signature]

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per [signature]

PH 100-49254

b7D



LEADS

NEWARK:

AT ATLANTIC CITY, N.J.

Will ascertain nature of Sugar Low Company and identify its officers, if pertinent.

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 8/29/671

A review of the records of [redacted]  
[redacted]  
reflects that [redacted]  
[redacted]

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b7D

The above information should not be made public except following the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum. The subpoena should be directed to [redacted]  
[redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/18/80 BY Luci

On 8/28/67 at Philadelphia, Pa. File # Philadelphia 100-49254

by IC [redacted] /lpm Date dictated 8/28/67

b6  
b7C

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-445393 -70  
ENCLOSURE

F B I

Date: 8/31/67

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

Via \_\_\_\_\_

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

FROM: SAC, NEW HAVEN (97-159) (P)

SUBJECT: <sup>D</sup> RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.,  
IS - C  
REGISTRATION ACT

OO: SAN FRANCISCO

ReBuairtel 8/28/67.

Records of the Town Clerk, Town Hall, West Hartford, Conn., were reviewed 8/30/67, by SA [REDACTED]

Vol. 434, Land Records, reflected that on page 355 a Warranty Deed was registered 5/24/67, showing that [REDACTED] sold to Ramparts Magazine, Inc., a parcel of land for \$400,000.

Vol. 434, page 357, reflected that a mortgage was registered 5/24/67, reflecting that Ramparts Magazine, Inc., owed [REDACTED] the sum of \$400,000, and that beginning 5/1/67, 300 installments of \$2340. per month was to be paid to [REDACTED]. The agreement was signed by officers of Ramparts Magazine, Inc., one of whom was [REDACTED] of Ramparts Magazine, Inc.

1 - Bureau (RM)  
3 - San Francisco (157-459) (RM)  
3 - New Haven  
(2 - 97-159)  
(1 - 100-19201 - [REDACTED])  
JAD/hmg  
(7)

EX-103  
REC 11100-445393-71  
20 SEP 5 1967

C. C. Bishop

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/18/80 BY [REDACTED]

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

DATE: 9/7/67

*Adm*  
FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-459) - P

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.  
IS - C  
REGISTRATION ACT

00 - San Francisco

Re Baltimore letter to Bureau, 8/16/67.

Enclosed for Baltimore is a Xerox copy of report of SA EDWARD J. O'FLYNN, dated 6/16/67, in captioned matter, as requested in referenced letter.

If advice or guidance on the collection and reporting of specific categories of information in this investigation is required, San Francisco will expeditiously furnish its opinion.

*1- RM 932 STD*

- ② - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - Baltimore (100-24425)(Enc. 1)(RM)
- 1 - San Francisco

EJO/jr  
(5)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/18/82 BY hig

REC-44

*100-445393-72*

EX 106

15 SEP 8 1967

INT. SEC.

57 SEP 15 1967

~~SECRET~~

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10  
MAY 1962 EDITION  
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

# Memorandum

EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC  
DECLASSIFICATION

AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM: Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
EXEMPTION CODE 25X(1) ~~TOP SECRET~~  
DATE 05-25-2011

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

1-Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 9/4/67

- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. J. A. Sizoo
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. J. H. Kleinkauf
- 1 - Mr. E. R. Stark

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : Mr. J. A. Sizoo

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - MISCELLANEOUS

At approximately 3:30 p.m. 9/4/67, SA [redacted]  
[redacted] Washington Field Office, telephonically furnished  
the following information to Duty Supervisor [redacted]

(S)

[redacted]

SA [redacted] stated he had no additional details  
at present concerning this matter. The information will  
be confirmed in a written communication to the Bureau.

## ACTION:

None. For information.

ERS:rwf  
(7)

ERS  
WEL

REC 29

100-445393-73

SEP 12 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

EX 104

CLASS. & EXT.  
REASON-FC M  
DATE OF REVIEW 7/4/87

~~SECRET~~

55 SEP 19 1967



~~SECRET~~

F B I

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Date: 9/5/67

PLAINTEXT

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC  
DECLASSIFICATION  
AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
EXEMPTION CODE 25X(1)  
DATE 07-22-2014

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)  
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (157-1300)  
SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE INC.  
IS - C  
RA  
(OO:SF)

Enclosed for the Bureau are 8 copies of an LHM  
containing information furnished by [redacted] on 9/4/67.

Enclosed LHM is classified "~~Secret~~-No Foreign  
Dissemination" in order to further protect the identity  
of this sensitive source.

WFO cognizant.

ENCLOSURE

3-Bureau (ENCS. 8)(RM)  
2-San Francisco (157-459)(ENCS. 2)(RM)  
2-Washington Field (ENCS. 2)(RM)  
1-New York (100-60713)  
1-New York EX 104

TDJ:eeb

(11) AGENCY: G-2, ONI, OSI, SEC. SER. CIA

RAO (ICJ, [redacted])

DATE FORW. 9-13-67

HOW FORW. [redacted]

BY: JFM:RAH

14 SEP 6 1967

CLASS [redacted]  
REASON-F [redacted]  
DATE OF REVIEW 9/5/81

Approved: [Signature]

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

INT. SEC.



DECLASSIFIED BY 60324 UC/BAW/SAB/DH  
ON 02-10-2011

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

New York, New York  
September 5, 1967

~~SECRET~~ - NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION

Ramparts Magazine Incorporated

On September 4, 1967, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that the journalists of Ramparts Magazine would hold a press conference at the Statler Hotel, Washington, D.C. and that the conference would have international implications. This source did not furnish date of the press conference. ~~g~~

(U) Ramparts Magazine is a Lay Catholic magazine with offices in San Francisco, California.

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-1-80 BY  
TUB~~

~~7/18/80 SP/USK/hc  
CLASS. 2.3  
REASON-FCM  
DATE OF REVIEW 9/5/82~~

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET - NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION  
GROUP I  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification.~~

100-445393-74

ENCLOSURE

~~SECRET~~

1 - Mr. [redacted] ch  
1 - Mr. [redacted] aop

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: September 18, 1967

FROM : W. R. Wannall

1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. Wannall  
1 - Mr. Solomon

SUBJECT: [redacted]

b6  
b7C

REGISTRATION ACT - ANGUILLA

Department has requested us to initiate Registration Act investigation regarding subjects who placed advertisement in "The New York Times" of 8/14/67 soliciting financial contributions to the independence movement of the Caribbean island of Anguilla. Our files show [redacted] and [redacted] [redacted] notorious San Francisco-based magazine "Ramparts." Attached for your approval is letter to field initiating investigation.

"The New York Times" of 8/14/67 carried full-page advertisement captioned "Anguilla White Paper" which made a plea for funds to support the independence movement of Anguilla. Anguilla is small impoverished Caribbean island, a former British colony, which declared its independence from its "associated state" status with Britain in late May, 1967, and has withstood considerable pressure aimed at returning it to its former status. Accompanying article in same issue of "Times" states advertisement was placed by above subjects all of San Francisco, California. Feigen is identified as a surgeon, Gossage as an advertising executive, and Newhall as editor of the "San Francisco Chronicle."

Department has advised that above raises question as to whether subjects acted on behalf of a foreign principal in soliciting money in the U. S. and has requested us to initiate appropriate investigation.

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Our files show that [redacted]

[redacted] and [redacted]

[redacted] were as of June, 1967, [redacted]

"Ramparts" magazine. Ramparts is the highly controversial San Francisco-based publication which gained wide notoriety

Enclosure

AIS:emp  
(8)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/18/80 BY [redacted]  
NOT RECORDED  
167 SEP 21 1967

1 - 100-445393 ("Ramparts" magazine)  
1 - 109-12-418 (Foreign Political Matters - Anguilla)

SEP 20 1967

ORIGINAL FILED IN 97-51-10

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan

RE:

b6  
b7C

97-5136

in early 1967 for exposing Central Intelligence Agency long-term financial involvement in and direction of the National Students Association. Magazine has published numerous articles attacking the Bureau. No adverse information of substance appears in our files regarding

b6  
b7C

Our investigation in this matter will in no way concern "Ramparts" magazine. It is imperative that investigation be conducted in a manner to preclude any possible embarrassment to Bureau. Specific instructions to the field are set forth in this regard in attached letter.

ACTION:

If you approve the attached letter will be sent to our San Francisco and San Juan Offices initiating investigation in compliance with the Department's request.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (157-1300) (RUC)

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.  
IS - C  
REGISTRATION ACT  
(OO: San Francisco)

DATE: 9/19/67

Re San Francisco airtel to the Bureau,  
8/17/67.

Efforts to identify [redacted]

[redacted] were unproductive [redacted]

On 9/13/67,  
[redacted] who has furnished reliable information in  
the past, advised SA ANTHONY E. CONSTANTINO that in  
order to possibly identify [redacted] the following  
procedure was recommended by [redacted]

(1)

- ② - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (157-459) (RM)
- 1 - New York

WHB:rmp  
(5)

EX-107  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/18/80 BY [signature]  
16 SEP 21 1967

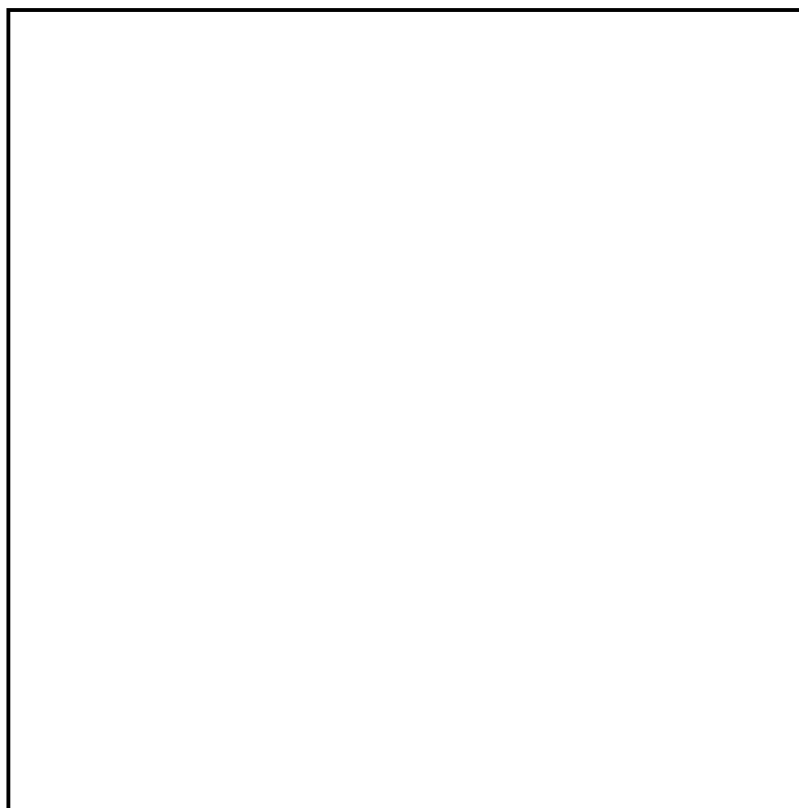
b6  
b7C  
b7D



NY 157-1300

b7D

(2)



Concerning [redacted]  
[redacted] banks, no action will  
be taken by the New York Office concerning [redacted]  
because the same information would be needed as that  
requested by [redacted]

It is suggested that in order to enhance  
obtaining the type of information requested by San  
Francisco [redacted] that San Francisco consider

NY 157-1300

developing a source [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

b7D

A review of New York files reflected no new information on the relationship of Lincoln Web Offset Company and its officers with RM.

A review of New York files reflected no information to indicate that [REDACTED] was the source for material for RM article on "Children of Vietnam", or was the source for funds donated through [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

SAC, San Francisco (100-42399)

9/19/67

Director, FBI (100-3-104-47)

1 - Mr. Bishop  
1 - Mr. Kleinkauf  
1 - Mr. Ryan

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C  
("RAMPARTS")

b6  
b7C

ReSFlet 8/24/67 containing the dual caption  
"Ramparts Magazine, Inc., IS-C," and "CP, USA-Counterintelligence  
Program, IS-C," wherein it is recommended [redacted]

[redacted] be confidentially  
contacted in an effort to develop through him a newspaper  
article discrediting "Ramparts."

Bureau files contain nothing derogatory relating  
to [redacted] There is no indication he has ever been utilized  
by this Bureau for counterintelligence action in the past, that  
he is an established source or contact of your office, or that  
your experience with him is such that you could rely upon him  
to protect the Bureau's interest in a sensitive matter of the  
nature recommended. Although [redacted] was a cooperative and  
effective witness [redacted]

[redacted] and  
at that time your office had had no prior contact with him.

Before the Bureau can give further consideration to  
your use of [redacted] it will be necessary for you to furnish  
additional assurance of his reliability and discretion.

1 - San Francisco (157-459)

1 - Bufile 100-445393 ("Ramparts")

DR:scr (8)

NOTE: "Ramparts" magazine is notorious as the left-wing  
publication which exposed CIA's involvement with the NSA. San  
Francisco Office has recommended a technique whereby "Ramparts"  
criticism of Israel in the Middle East conflict might be utilized  
by an effective, newsmen to prepare an article discrediting the  
publication. Our knowledge of [redacted] is limited and he should not  
be utilized for the recommended technique without further assurance  
from San Francisco as to his reliability and discretion.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN

DATE 7/18/80 BY [redacted]

YELLOW

NOT RECORDED  
172 SEP 19 1967

EP26 1967

ORIGINAL FILED IN



Letter to SAC, San Francisco

RE: [REDACTED]

97-5136

San Francisco is also referred to its files for information regarding alleged prior subversive connections of [REDACTED]

The attention of San Francisco is further directed to its airtel and letterhead memorandum dated 5/26/67 captioned "'Light for Peace,' Information Concerning (Internal Security)," San Francisco file 100-58903, which set forth information regarding anti-Vietnam advertisement appearing in "The New York Times" in late 5/67 which advertisement was reportedly prepared by [REDACTED]

b6  
b7c

(105-138315-6330)

[REDACTED] appears to be the same individual [REDACTED] the "San Francisco Chronicle" newspaper. San Francisco refer to your file 161-210 regarding [REDACTED] aka, Peace Corps," regarding [REDACTED] No additional pertinent information concerning [REDACTED] was located in Bufiles.

(151-803)

San Juan is referred to the above-identified "New York Times" article of 3/28/67 and to information therein concerning difficulties encountered by instant group in attempting to set up bank accounts in the Virgin Islands as a repository for funds collected. Through established sources only, you are to conduct appropriate discreet inquiry in banking circles in your territory in an effort to obtain full facts regarding this matter. San Juan is also referred to the enclosed "New York Times" full page advertisement of 8/11/67. The last paragraph in column three thereof mentions "Anguilla Liberty Dollars." Refer to Department of State outgoing telegram to the American Embassy, London, (State #20409) dated 8/14/67, a copy of which was forwarded to you by Bureau O-7 8/16/67. That message refers to [REDACTED] Anguillian independence movement, and his alleged involvement in making available over-stamped Mexican coins for Anguillian use.

(109-12-324, 8/14/67)

1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. Bishop  
(re "Ramparts")  
1 - magazine  
1 - Mr. Wannall  
1 - Mr. Solomon

9/19/67

SAC, San Francisco

Director, FBI (97-5136)

[REDACTED]  
REGISTRATION ACT - ANGUILLA

b6  
b7C

Enclosed for San Francisco and San Juan are single copies of a letter of Assistant Attorney General Yeagley captioned as above dated 8/31/67 and of two clippings from "The New York Times" newspaper of 8/14/67 which were enclosed with Mr. Yeagley's letter.

Also enclosed for each addressee are single copies of the following additional items which have appeared in "The New York Times" and are pertinent:

Article on page three, issue of 8/18/67,  
captioned "Anguillan Leader Seeks Visitors and Hotels"

Article on page two, issue of 8/28/67,  
entitled "Americans Decide to Press Plan for Anguilla  
Despite Opposition."

Regarding [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] San Francisco is referred to its file 157-459 captioned "Ramparts Magazine, Inc., IS - C, RA," and in particular to the report of SA Edward J. O'Flynn dated 6/16/67 at San Francisco. [REDACTED] appears to be identical with [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] is indicated to be identical with [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED] Both [REDACTED]  
and [REDACTED] as of 6/67 were reported to be [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] "Ramparts" magazine,  
the highly controversial San Francisco-based publication.  
(100-445393-53)

Enclosures - 5

2 - San Juan (Enclosures - 5)

1 - 100-445393 ("Ramparts" magazine)

1 - 109-12-418 (Foreign Political Matter - Anguilla)

AHS:brr  
(10)

100 445 393  
NOT RECORDED  
167 SEP 21 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/8/10 BY [REDACTED]

SEE NOTE PAGE 3

55 SEP 26 1967

Letter to SAC, San Francisco

RE:   
97-5136

b6  
b7c

Investigation into this matter is to be initiated in conformance with Mr. Yeagley's request. It is imperative that our investigation be handled with discretion and caution to avoid possible embarrassment to the Bureau. No interviews are to be conducted with any of the subjects without specific prior Bureau authority. In contacts and inquiries made in this matter, you are to make clear the fact that the investigation is being conducted at the specific request of Assistant Attorney General Yeagley.

Instant investigation is not concerned in any way with "Ramparts" magazine. It must be conducted in such a manner that no one will gain that impression.

Institute investigation promptly and submit results in report form.

NOTE:

See memorandum Mr. W. R. Wannall to Mr. W. C. Sullivan, captioned as above dated 9/15/67, prepared by AHS:emp.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 02-10-2011 BY 60324 UC/BAW/SAB/DF

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

DATE: 9/19/67

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-46885) (RUC)

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.  
IS - C  
Registration Act  
(OO:SF)

Re San Francisco airtel to the Bureau dated 8/17/67 and New York airtel to the Bureau dated 9/5/67.

Enclosed for the Bureau and San Francisco is one xerox copy each of an article which appeared in the 9/6/67 edition of "The Washington Post" pertaining to caption publication.

The indices of WFO reveal a number of references to [redacted] in addition to several applicant type Special Inquiry investigations dating back to August, 1948. These investigations were conducted in conjunction with [redacted] many high level positions and appointments with the United States Government. There is, however, no specific subversive information regarding [redacted] contained in WFO files.

b6  
b7c

- ③ - Bureau (Encl. 1)
- 2 - San Francisco (Encl. 1) (157-459) (RM)
- 1 - WFO

ECR:dab  
(6)

ENCLOSURE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/12/10 BY [signature]

REC-35

100-445393-76

SEP 20 1967

57 SEP 20 1967

THE WASHINGTON POST Wednesday, Sept. 6, 1967 A23

## 2 Forced to Frame Papandreu, They Say in Magazine Story

Ramparts magazine yesterday offered the testimony of two Greeks who say they were forced to give perjured testimony against Andreas Papandreu, now in jail on a treason charge.

The men, due to appear at a press conference at the Statler-Hilton Hotel today, are Andreas Vachliotis, a lawyer, and Kyriakos Diakogiannis, a journalist.

A Ramparts article in the October issue by Stanley K. Sheinbaum states that the ruling junta in Athens had been counting on evidence from the two men to make their case against Papandreu. The jailed Papandreu, son of a former Premier, is a former American citizen and well-known economist who returned to Greece to join his father's government.

Vachliotis states that it was one of a number of memoranda which he wrote at Papandreu's request which was the "pretext" for putting the economist in jail. The memorandum, he writes, said that to protect himself and establish his father's government firmly in control, Papandreu should "undergo the creation of an organization to control the mechanism of the Greek state

both inside and outside the country," to preempt control from agents of the fascist Italian militia and secret police.

### No Suggestion of Violence

Vachliotis states that there "was not the faintest suggestion" that "the replacement of key officials should be accomplished by violence or imprisonment" as the Greek KYP, which he describes as the local version of the CIA, and the junta "were later to allege."

A KYP agent, writes Vachliotis, threatened him with imprisonment. As a result, he says, he signed a document alleging that Papandreu was about to organize a coup by a group of young officers and was planning to remove the King and to take Greece out of NATO.

Vachliotis now writes that he was "trapped" by KYP into giving perjured testimony. He says that in August he escaped from Greece and that his wife and son flew out in a chartered plane four days later.

Diakogiannis, editor of a Greek emigre paper in Paris, corroborates the story. Both of them, he says, were told in 1966 by then Premier Stefanopoulos to give a formal statement before a judge. He also states that he was led to add in that statement that Papan-

dreou had told Vachliotis that Papandreu had "advocated the use of violent means to eliminate his opposition."

Diakogiannis now denies that he was ever told "anything of the sort." He says he escaped from Athens on July 10 "determined now to do all in my power to right the wrongs done to Andreas Papandreu as a result of my unwilling testimony, extracted under pressure by the Greek secret police."

State Department officials yesterday would not comment on the article other than to say that the two men had clean records and, therefore, had been entitled to visas for admittance to the United States.

King Constantine of Greece who has been under attack for his acceptance of the coup last April, is due in Washington next Monday for talks with President Johnson.

100-445393-76

ENCLOSURE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 02-10-2011 BY 60324 UC/BAW/SAB/DF

ENCLOSURE

100-44343-78

ENCLOSURE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 02-10-2011 BY 60824 UC/BAW/SAB/DF

F B I

Date: 10/10/67

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via **AIRTEL** \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

**TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)**  
**FROM: SAC, NEW HAVEN (97-159) (P)**  
**SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.**  
**IS - C**  
**REGISTRATION ACT**  
**OO: SAN FRANCISCO**

*Kleinberg*

Re San Francisco airtel 8/17/67.

\_\_\_\_\_, (protect), \_\_\_\_\_ advised 9/27/67 that

b6  
b7C  
b7D

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (RM)
- 3 - New Haven
- (1 - 100-19201 - \_\_\_\_\_)

REC-64 100-445393

81

JAD/hmg  
(8)

C. C. Bishop

109  
OCT 12 1967  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/18/80 BY [signature]  
Sent [signature] M Per [signature]

INT. SEC.

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

OCT 24 1967

NH 97-159

[redacted] requested that the above information not be made public without the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum directed to [redacted] and that his name be concealed.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

[redacted]  
New Haven was unable to locate any further information on Mankauf Realty Co., than that already reported.

[redacted]  
There is no known information to reflect that Ramparts Magazine, Inc., is to move to West Hartford, Conn. [redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted]

Observation of the property by SA [redacted] reflects that [redacted] is going on as usual, with no sign of any change to take place.

New Haven will continue to review [redacted]  
[redacted]

New Haven will also attempt to determine if Ramparts Magazine, Inc., will move to West Hartford, Conn., and the date that the move can be expected if such is the case.

100 - 100 100 100



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

DECLASSIFIED BY 60324 UC/BAW/SAB/DF  
ON 02-10-2011

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

FROM : SAC, BALTIMORE (100-24425) RUC

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.  
IS - C  
OO: SF

DATE: 10/18/67

Re Baltimore letter to Director, 8/23/67.

Referral/Consult

(U)

In view of above, no further action being taken by this office.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S)

- ② - Bureau (REGISTERED MAIL)
- 1 - San Francisco (157-459) (Info) (REGISTERED MAIL)
- 1 - Baltimore

PDE:na/cl

(4)

REASON-FC M

DATE OF REVIEW

18 OCT 23 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

INT. SEC.



6 OCT 30 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 02-10-2011 BY 60324 UC/BAW/SAB/DF

F B I

Date: 10/31/67

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-459)(P)

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.  
IS - C  
REGISTRATION ACT  
OO: SF

Re New Haven airtel to Director 10/10/67.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

1 CC 932 94D  
3 - Bureau (RM)  
3 - New Haven (97-159)(RAMPARTS)(RM)  
(100-19201)  
2 - San Francisco  
EJO/dp  
(8)

REC-4

100-445393-83

22 NOV 2 1967

53 NOV 13 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN

DATE

7/18/80 BY

Kic

M

Per

Approved

C. - Bishop

Special Agent in Charge

INT. SEC.

SF 157-459  
EJO/dp

LEAD

NEW HAVEN

AT HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT: Continue to monitor

b6  
b7C

- 2 -

NOA 5 1 58 6W.21

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 02-10-2011 BY 60324 UC/BAW/SAB/DF

F B I

Date: 11/3/67

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-459)

SUBJECT: ✓ RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.  
IS - C  
REGISTRATION ACT  
OO: SF

One of the principal purposes in this investigation is to determine the source of extraneous funds which cover the deficit in the operation of this publication.

LEADBOSTON

AT BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS: Make discreet inquiry

through \_\_\_\_\_ to determine \_\_\_\_\_

- 100 445393-74D  
③ - Bureau (RM)  
2 - Boston (RM) (100-37684)  
2 - San Francisco

REC 51

NOV 7 1967

EJO/dp

C. C. Bishop

5970

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

b6  
b7C  
b7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

FBI

DATE 02-10-2011 BY 60324 UC/BAW/SAB/DF

Date: 11/3/67

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL  
(Priority)Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-459) *5 C D Bishop*SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.  
IS - C  
REGISTRATION ACT  
OO: SFRe New York letter to Director 9/19/67 and  
San Francisco airtel 8/17/67.The purpose of this investigation as set out  
in referenced San Francisco airtel is to determine the  
source of extraneous funds which cover the deficit in the  
operation of this publication. This is essential to a  
Registration Act investigation.

Referenced San Francisco airtel requested

③ - Bureau (RM) *100-932,440*  
2 - New York (157-1300) (RM)  
2 - San Francisco  
EJO/dp  
(7) C. C. - Bishop

REC-60

100-445393 85

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

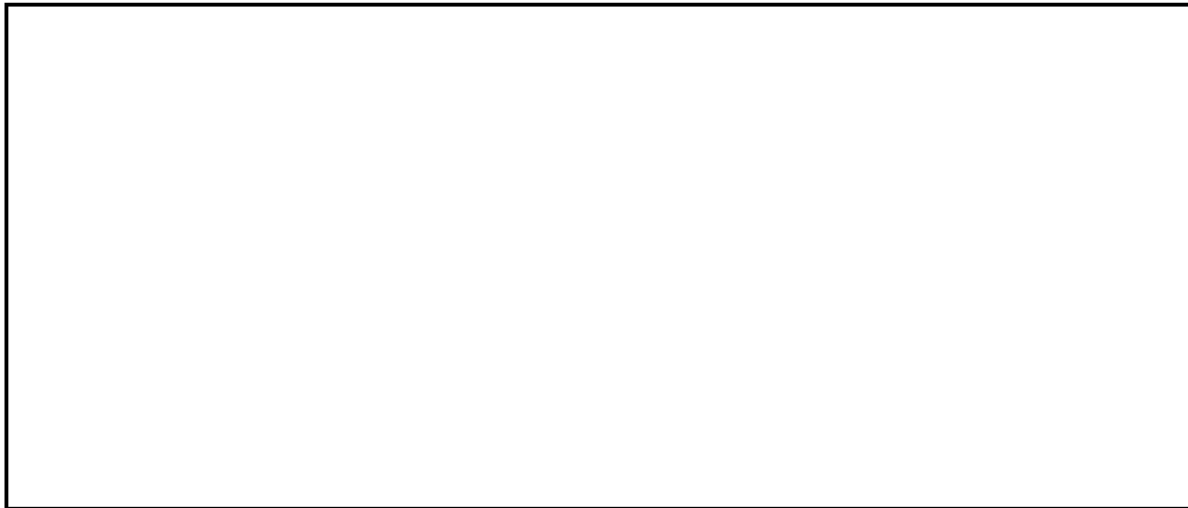
NOV 7 1967

Approved: *CWB/gpc*  
59 NOV 13 1967 Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

b7D

SF 157-459  
EJO/dp



b6  
b7C  
b7D

LEAD

NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK: Cover leads set out in  
San Francisco airtel 8/17/67 and identify   
reported above.

SF 157-459  
EJO/dp

San Francisco has noted that the Manhattan Telephone Directory contains a listing for [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

In the event that New York identifies [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] it may be assumed that [REDACTED] and no further investigation is warranted.

Referenced San Francisco airtel also set out a lead for New York to verify and further identify [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

It is believed that sufficient identifying data has been furnished to identify the source of these funds as the New York Office has previously identified and reported on some of these accounts.

The following recent information was received from [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

**CAL-AGENCY**

Realtors

MAIN AND 10TH

P. O. BOX 827

RAMONA, CALIFORNIA

PHONE STERLING 9-0202

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 02-10-2011 BY 60324 UC/BAW/SAB/DF



1 November  
1 9 6 7

Publishers, Ramparts Magazine  
301 Broadway  
San Francisco, California 94133

Sirs:

When I received your pitch for a subscription to RAMPARTS, illustrated with an American Eagle blindfolded by the American Flag, I was at first inclined to mutter: "You bastards!" and throw it in the wastebasket. But I resisted the urge and, having looked over the enclosure, I decided to write a more detailed commentary:

When you equate the American Flag with "...a blindfold woven of the veils of prejudice, ignorance and indifference that alienate man from man", you identify yourselves with that infamous Establishment of traitorous renegades that has been responsible for the breakdown of our customs, traditions and laws; the corruption of our Youth; the vulgarization of our Religion and all the other nihilistic assaults on our National Integrity.

..."RAMPARTS takes no doctrinaire position. It points out alternatives."

What an affectation! In what particular does your position on "racism", for instance, differ from that embodied in the official program of the Politburo or in Mao's Little Red Book?!

What chances would an American have of getting a hearing on your pages if he wanted to elaborate on the statement: "I resent having dined at me the accusation that I am a 'racist' because I proudly cherish and defend the Spiritual, Racial and National characteristics that identify me as a member of the Community of Western Man." ?!

"RAMPARTS ...exposes hypocrisy."

Really?! But what a chance you missed when Robert Kennedy "stunned" his hosts - the South Africans - by presenting them with the dreadful possibility that perhaps "God is Black"! What a coup it would have been if you tested the strength of his convictions by encouraging him to go on to Israel and - noting their brand of Apartheid with the Arabs - confront them with the equally stunning possibility: "What if God is a Moslem!" - or even more appalling: "... a Gentile!"

And speaking of Israel, what chance would I have of challenging - on the pages of your "fiercely independent" magazine - one of the 1967 "Civil Rights" rabbis to logically and morally defend and justify the absolute right to his "Jewishness" while at the same time undermining the integrity of my Community?

And what a proof it would be of your boast that "RAMPARTS is dedicated to breaking down those walls ... that tend to separate men." if you pressed the same rabbi to commit himself as to how much of his "Jewishness" he would give up to realize that glorious ecumenical slogan: "One World! One Race! One Religion!"

57 NOV 14 1967

COPY - no ack  
CORRESPONDENCE





**CAL AGENCY**

Realtors

MAIN AND 10TH

P. O. BOX 827

RAMONA, CALIFORNIA

PHONE STERLING 9-0202

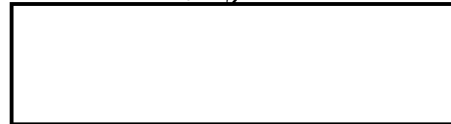


RAMPARTS (continued)

I could go on and on detailing your "no doctrinaire position" - and your hypocrisy - with regard to all your other pet themes - "Poverty", "Nuclear War", "Peace", "Vietnam", etc.

But instead I will sum up with the observation that you and your Soul Mates can "ride" the American People just so long. Eventually, - I prophesy - you will trigger-off a reaction of National Indignation that will sweep you all off the American Landscape and into that Proletarian Paradise whose proudest achievement and everlasting symbol is "The Berlin Wall"! - And whose Fire Red and Sulphur Yellow banner is the actual material from which you have fashioned the American Eagle's blindfold!

Until then, I remain



b6  
b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SAC, San Francisco

12/4/67

Director, FBI (100-445393) - 87

1 - Mr. R.H. Horner

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.  
IS - C

Reurlet 11/9/67 and Bulet 11/6/67.

☒ Referral/Consult

Your letter also requested authority to broaden the area of the investigation which heretofore was restricted to financial aspects of the magazine.

Your attention is directed to reBulet which specifically instructed you to intensify your investigation, particularly with regard to subversive ramifications of the magazine and individuals associated with it. At that time, you were also instructed to point your investigation toward any foreign inspiration that might be behind this publication.

These instructions appear to be sufficient for your continued investigation in this matter.

RHH:jes  
(4)

NOTE:

RE has requested authority to broaden the investigation in this matter. This authority was furnished in a previous communication to SF. That office has requested material which is in Bufiles which has been reviewed and is not necessary to its continued investigation in this matter.

DEC 7 1967

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

CLASS.

REASON-FC

DATE OF REVIEW

CD-5/K  
12/9/87

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 02-11-2011 BY 60324 UC/BAW/SAB/DF

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

DATE: 11/9/67

*[Signature]* : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-459)

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.  
IS - C  
REGISTRATION ACT

~~APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF  
DATE 11-1-83  
RJB~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re Bulet to San Francisco, 11/6/67.

[Redacted Box]

Referral/Consult

[Redacted Box]

San Francisco investigation of Ramparts has been limited to [Redacted] as authorized by the Bureau and the utilization of public source material. Bureau authority to broaden the area of investigation is requested.

b7D

- ② - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - San Francisco

EJO/jr  
(3)

11/18/80  
CLASS. & EXT. BY SP1 DSK/bci  
REASON-FCIM 114.2  
DATE OF REVIEW 11/9/87

REC-75

EX 102

100-445393-87

9 NOV 13 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

[INT. SEC.]

244-100 12/4/67

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: November 21, 1967

FROM : J. H. Gale

SUBJECT:

SELECTIVE SERVICE ACT

The captioned individuals, all associated with the staff of Ramparts magazine, allegedly burned their draft cards. The December issue of Ramparts will have on its cover a photograph of the draft cards being burned. The magazine in the past has printed several articles extremely critical of the Bureau and has been willing to exploit any situation to print biased untruthful articles.

\*copy attached

The Department of Justice requested investigation be conducted including interviews of the four editors of the magazine. The San Francisco Division has strongly recommended against interviews of these individuals, which interviews they feel would be exploited and utilized in future issues of Ramparts in a slanted manner which would undoubtedly be embarrassing to the Bureau and its operations. The San Francisco Division feels nothing would be gained from interviews with these individuals and the editors would be unlikely to face prosecution by the Department, regardless of results of interview.

The United States Attorney's Office, San Francisco, was presented with the facts concerning Selective Service registration and classification cards surrendered at an antidraft rally in San Francisco. Our San Francisco Division was advised that as a matter of policy prosecution would be declined for violation of the failure to possess draft card section of the Selective Service Act. The United States Attorney's Office in San Francisco has been extremely reluctant to prosecute violations of the Selective Service Act in the past and the policy statement given by that office was on November 15, 1967. There is no indication there will be any change in their policy in the immediate future.

Enc. 11-02461

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. Gale
- 1 - Mr. Eddy
- 1 - Mr. Moore

NOT RECORDED  
199 NOV 29 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/28/80 BY [signature]

CONTINUED OVER BY [signature]

70 DEC 4 1967  
MMH:tdm (7)

b6  
b7c

ORIGINAL FILED IN 56-38861-6

Memorandum to Mr. DeLoach

Re:

b6  
b7C

ACTION:

There is attached, for approval, a memorandum to the Department of Justice suggesting that a decision be made as to whether there will be any prosecutive action concerning the burning of Selective Service cards on the part of the four editors of Ramparts magazine. If prosecution is contemplated, the facts developed could be presented to Federal Grand Jury seeking indictments without prior interviews.

*[Handwritten marks and signatures]*  
✓ *[Signature]* ✓  
✓ *[Signature]* ✓  
OK.  
K  
P.B. per work  
b

F B I

Date: 11/9/67

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)  
FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-459)  
RE: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.  
IS - C  
REGISTRATION ACT  
00 - San Francisco

Re San Francisco airtel to Bureau, 8/17/67, which set  
out lead for Philadelphia to [redacted]

An important part of this investigation is to identify  
[redacted]

A review of [redacted]

[redacted] reflect [redacted]

- 100 932 PVD  
③ - Bureau (AM-RM)  
2 - Philadelphia (AM-RM)  
1 - San Francisco

EJO/jr  
(6)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED NOV 10 19  
DATE 7/18/80 BY [redacted]

Special Agent in Charge

- Mr. R. Horner

November 15, 1967

**RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INCORPORATED**

b6  
b7C

A review of Volume 434, page 355, Land Records, Town Clerk's Office, Town Hall, West Hartford, Connecticut, revealed that [redacted] sold Ramparts Magazine, Incorporated, a parcel of land for the sum of \$400,000. Page 357 of this same volume shows that a mortgage was registered on May 24, 1967. In this mortgage, Ramparts Magazine, Incorporated, assumed obligation for \$400,000 to [redacted] and agreed to commence payments beginning May 1, 1967, for 300 installments, each for \$2,340. to be paid by [redacted]. The agreement was signed by [redacted] who identified himself as [redacted].

Ramparts Magazine, Incorporated, is the subject of a pending Bureau investigation to determine whether it is in violation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938.

RHH:jav  
(4) *gjd*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/18/80 BY mc

*WALTER K. ALEY, AAA  
Int Security Div.  
Rept. of Justice*

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**NOV 24 1967**

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

REC-12

NOV 17 1967

*file 100-445-75*

Director

10/31/67

~~Ident~~ Crime Record

SAC, Cin

(12-0)

①  
**"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE**  
1255 Portland Place  
Boulder, Colorado 80502  
MISCELLANEOUS -  
INFORMATION CONCERNING

Enclosed is an advertisement which came in the mail to SA LINCOLN J. STOKES of this office. This advertisement deals with a book called "In the Shadows of Dallas." This book would be sent with every subscription to a new magazine called "RAMPARTS." The advertisement states as follows:

"The Case for Jim Garrison by WILLIAM W. TURNER. An ex-FBI man who has spent two years investigating the Kennedy assassination analyzes the astonishing facts of New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison's counter-theory to the Warren Commission. TURNER also explains why large television networks - and the FBI and CIA - are so set on discrediting Garrison. Essential reading for those interested in the assassination and the situation in New Orleans."

The Bureau is probably aware just in case this has not come to the Cincinnati is furnishing same.

2 - Bureau (Enclosure)  
1 - Cincinnati

EJM:LM  
(3)



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

FROM : *RWB/wn* SAC, NEWARK (100-49658) (P)

SUBJECT: *R* RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.  
IS - C  
REGISTRATION ACT  
OO: SAN FRANCISCO

DATE: 11/21/67

Re Philadelphia airtel to Bureau 8/29/67.

S. L. C. DISTRIBUTORS, INC.  
SUGAR-LO COMPANY  
ATLANTIC CITY, N.J.

The 1966 city directory for Atlantic City, N.J., reveals that Sugar-Lo Company, Dietetic Ice Cream, 2001 Bacharach Blvd., [REDACTED]

On 10/26/67, [REDACTED] Credit Rating Service, Inc., 1616 Pacific Ave., Atlantic City, N.J., made available to SA [REDACTED] the following credit information:

S. L. C. Distributors, Inc., doing business as Sugar-Lo Company, Inc., 2001 Bacharach Blvd., Atlantic City, N.J., was incorporated under New Jersey law on 12/31/64. This company was capitalized for 2,000 no par shares with three shares paid in for the purpose of doing business as a commission merchants, etc. Incorporators are:

ALAN KLIGERMAN

[REDACTED]

SIGMUND RIMM

[REDACTED]

44-100-445393-91

100 932 940  
2-Bureau (RM)  
2-San Francisco (157-459) (RM)  
2-Newark  
TGB:jcs  
(6)

NOV 22 1967  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/18/80 BY [REDACTED] SEC 2



62 NOV 28 1967

Buy U S Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

b6  
b7c

NK 100-49658

MAE LE VAN

B. APPROV

A credit report dated 11/1/60, on [redacted] and wife, [redacted] nee [redacted] shows him as age [redacted] white, and married with wife dependant, [redacted] had been at the above mentioned address since 1955 and prior to this at [redacted]

[redacted] Prior to this, [redacted] resided with her parents, [redacted]

[redacted] self-employed doing [redacted] Prior to this, he was employed [redacted]

This report reveals that [redacted] bear a satisfactory personal reputation and nothing detrimental was learned concerning their character or habits.

A credit report on [redacted] dated 7/11/63, shows him as [redacted] self-employed doing business as [redacted] A notation on this report dated 1/25/66, shows him to be residing at [redacted]

Files of the Credit Rating Service, Inc., Atlantic City, N.J., also revealed that [redacted]

*Handwritten notes:*  
475, 11/28/60 P.M. 20  
P.T. 11/28/60  
b6  
b7C

NK 100-49658

[redacted]  
[redacted] all using the address of [redacted]  
[redacted]

*MP/ALJ*  
The 1966 city directory for Atlantic City reveals that [redacted] reside at [redacted] His occupation is given [redacted]

[redacted] This directory also shows that [redacted] reside at [redacted] His occupation is given as [redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted]

b6  
b7C

Files of the Newark Office contained no subversive references to [redacted]  
[redacted] or [redacted]

On 11/2/67, while interviewing [redacted]  
[redacted]

[redacted] concerning the current racial situation in Atlantic City, casual inquiry was made of him by SA [redacted] concerning the nature of "Ramparts Magazine", a copy of which was openly on display in his office. [redacted] remarked that he is a subscriber of "Ramparts", which he referred to as a "liberal-critical type publication" commenting that he is very much in sympathy with its views. He said that the magazine carries some commercial advertisements, but in the main gets its financial support strictly from its subscription rate. He added that "Ramparts" is directed toward the urban intelligentsia and consequently he has never placed any commercial advertisements in the magazine. [redacted] made no effort to volunteer information concerning the transfer of funds by his company to "Ramparts" and no leading questions were asked of him in this regards.

[redacted] made available a copy of an open letter captioned "Stop the war, Mr. President" which contains signatures of over 300 business executives who oppose the war in Vietnam. The name [redacted]

NK 100-49658

[redacted] appears on this open letter.

b6  
b7C

Up until about 1964, [redacted] was struggling to make a living [redacted]  
[redacted] has apparently developed it into a very successful company, financially; however, it is not hardly possible for [redacted] to presently be in a financial position to be able to personally contribute the sum of \$47,500 to "Ramparts" since August, 1966.

LEADS

NEWARK

At Atlantic City, New Jersey. Will, through

[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	review [redacted]
[redacted]	to determine if [redacted]
[redacted]	

b6  
b7C  
b7D

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI  
ATTENTION: RESEARCH-SATELLITE SECTION  
DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

DATE: 12/1/67

FROM : SAC, DENVER (100-4775)

SUBJECT: PUBLICATIONS - HANDLING OF  
BY RESEARCH-SATELLITE SECTION  
RESEARCH SATELLITE MATTER

ReBulet 2/2/67.

Enclosed is the December, 1967, issue of Ramparts magazine.

2-Bureau (Encl-1) (RM)  
1-Denver  
HM:hg  
(3)

*Encl. routed +  
filed in Pubs. files, IB.  
12-7-67  
AMB*

ENCLOSURE

2

REC 16

100-445393-93

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/18/80 BY mic

4 DEC 8 1967

*Rosen*  
*Brother*  
RESEARCH-SATELLITE

55 DEC 14 1967

100-445393

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



F B I

Date: 12/5/67

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED  
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-459) - P

RE: "RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE  
IS - C  
REGISTRATION ACT

Captioned publication has engaged in political muck-  
raking derogatory to U. S. foreign policy and has published  
sensationalized exposes of CIA intelligence programs. It has  
been operating at a deficit in excess of a million dollars  
and discreet investigation is being conducted under the  
Foreign Agents Registration Act to determine the primary  
sources of these extraneous funds.

The records of the \_\_\_\_\_  
reflect \_\_\_\_\_

b6  
b7C  
b7D

- 100-988  
③ - Bureau (AM-RM)  
2 - New York (157-1300) (AM-RM)  
1 - San Francisco

EJO/jr  
(6)

C. C. Bishop

REC 16

100-445393-94  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/18/80 BY [signature]  
DEC 8 1967

Approved: [signature]

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

35 DEC 7 1967

SF 157-459  
EJO/jr

LEAD:

NEW YORK OFFICE

At New York, New York

Conduct discreet inquiry

--

b6  
b7C  
b7D

Ascertain if

--

F B I

Date: 12/5/67

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED  
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-459) - P

 RE: "RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE  
 IS - C  
 REGISTRATION ACT

Captioned publication has engaged in political muck-raking derogatory to U. S. foreign policy and has published sensationalized exposes of CIA intelligence programs. It has been operating at a deficit in excess of a million dollars and discreet investigation is being conducted under the Foreign Agents Registration Act to determine the primary sources of these extraneous funds.

LEAD:BOSTON OFFICEAt Boston, MassachusettsConduct discreet inquiry

- 100 93-2 440  
 ③ - Bureau (AM-RM)  
 2 - Boston (AM-RM)  
 1 - San Francisco

EJO/jr  
(6)

C. C. - Bishop

ALL INFORMATION  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 11/8/80 BY 445393-95

9 DEC 8 1967

54 DEC 12 1967

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_



F B I

Date: 12/5/67

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED  
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-459) - P

 RE: "RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE  
 IS - C  
 REGISTRATION ACT

Captioned publication has engaged in political muck-raking derogatory to U. S. foreign policy and has published sensationalized exposes of CIA intelligence programs. It has been operating at a deficit in excess of one million dollars and discreet investigation is being conducted under the Foreign Agents Registration Act to determine the primary sources of these extraneous funds.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

- ③ - Bureau (AM-RM)  
 2 - Los Angeles (AM-RM)  
 1 - San Francisco  
 EJO/jr  
 (6)

C. C. - Bishop

REC 16  
 ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 7/2/80 BY [signature]  
 DEC 8 1967

 Approved: F57  
 Special Agent in Charge

55 DEC 14 1967

SF 157-459  
EJO/jr

LEAD:

LOS ANGELES OFFICE

At Santa Barbara, California

Conduct discreet inquiry [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

At Los Angeles, California

Determine [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

FROM : SAC, BOSTON (100-37684)(RUC)

SUBJECT: 0 RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.  
IS - C  
REGISTRATION ACT  
(OO: San Francisco)

DATE: 12/11/67

EX-108

Re San Francisco airtel to Bureau 11/3/67.

On 11/30/67, [redacted]

[redacted], a confidential source - protect identity, advised

On 11/30/67, [redacted]

(protect) advised

that [redacted]

[redacted]

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (157-459)(RM)
- 1 - New Haven

62 DEC 28 1967  
JFM:maf

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/18/80 BY [signature]

100-445393-97  
DEC 14 1967  
INT. SEC.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

BS 100-37684

None of the information furnished by [redacted]  
[redacted] can be made  
available except on the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

F B I

Date: 12/12/67

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (157-1300)(P)

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.  
IS - C  
REGISTRATION ACT  
(OO: SF)Re San Francisco airtel to Bureau, 11/3/67 and  
New York letters to Bureau, 7/27/67 and 9/19/67.

On 11/16/67, [redacted] (conceal per request).

[redacted] advised SA [redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b7D3-Bureau (RM)  
2-San Francisco (157-459)(RM)  
1-New York

REC 29

WHB:tmm  
(7)ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/18/80 BY [redacted]  
INT. SEC.

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

57 DEC 1967

Special Agent in Charge

NY 157-1300

On 11/14/67, [redacted] (conceal), [redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted] advised SA [redacted]  
that [redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

A review of New York files contained no  
information identifiable with [redacted]

In view of the above investigation at [redacted]  
[redacted] no further inquiry  
is being made by the NYO concerning the above check..

On 11/20/67, [redacted] (conceal per  
request), [redacted]  
[redacted] advised SA [redacted]  
[redacted] that [redacted]  
He stated a search was made for a [redacted]  
[redacted] with negative results [redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

In view of the above, no further inquiry is being  
made concerning [redacted]  
and it is being left to the discretion of the San Francisco  
Office to pursue this matter further.

On 12/8/67, [redacted] (conceal per  
request), [redacted]  
[redacted] advised SA [redacted]  
[redacted]

NY 157-1300

[redacted]  
[redacted]  
The above information is not to be made public without the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum directed to [redacted]  
[redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

A review of New York files reflects no pertinent information identifiable with [redacted]  
Inasmuch as [redacted]  
[redacted]

[redacted] it is assumed that [redacted]  
[redacted] and no further investigation is being conducted.

On 11/16/67, [redacted] (conceal per request), [redacted]  
[redacted]

furnished the following information to SA [redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted]

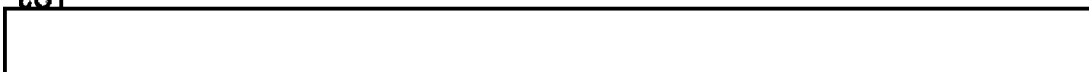
A review of New York files contains no identifiable information concerning [redacted]

It is noted that investigation concerning Lincoln Web Offset Co. was set forth in New York letter to the Bureau dated 7/27/67.

NY 157-1300



The above information is not to be made public without the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum directed to [redacted]



A review of New York files contains no subversive information identifiable with [redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

On 11/16/67, [redacted] (conceal per request), [redacted]



The above information is not to be made public without the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum directed to [redacted]





NY 157-1300

[redacted] also known as  
[redacted]

b6  
b7C

(It is noted that information concerning [redacted]  
[redacted] was furnished to the  
San Francisco Office in New York letter to  
the Bureau dated 7/27/67.)

The December 1, 1967 issue of "Time", the national weekly magazine, on page 38, contained an article entitled "Ramparts Dropout" which further identifies ANNE PERETZ. The article stated in part as follows:

"Not all of the old hands are joining in 'Ramparts' salutes these days. Conspicuously absent is Principal Stockholder and onetime Publisher Edward Keating, who was discovered 'plotting' against the magazine last spring, as his detractors put it. The latest dropout is another major stockholder, Martin Peretz, a Harvard lecturer in government who has contributed substantially to the magazine as well as to other New Left causes. He is also married to Anne Farnsworth, a Singer Sewing Machine heiress.

"What bothers Peretz, he says, in 'Commentary' magazine is 'Rampart's' anti-Jewish attitude toward the Arab-Israeli war. Editor Hinckle, says Peretz, likes to be 'flippy' --- that is, perverse in a flip, hippie sort of way. This translates into articles like the one Peretz calls 'the most carefully selective and skewed history of the conflict to come from any source save possibly the propaganda machines of the respective parties.' The article

NY 157-1300

'occasionally takes note of Nasser's calculating politics,' says Peretz, but 'settles the burden of the tragic events squarely on Israel.' All of this fits what Peretz says has become the New Left's Middle East dogma: that Israel and Israel alone must bear the blame for the responsibility for the future. Not, it should be clear, only for the plight of the Arab refugees, but for the behavior of the Arab regimes as well, and even (how powerful little Israel must have become!) for the policy of the Soviet Union, its sycophants (at least when Jews are in question), and virtually the entire Third World.'

Concerning [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

noted that referenced New York letter to the Bureau, 7/27/67, set forth identifying information concerning [REDACTED] and "VICTOR RABINOWITZ."

b6  
b7C  
b7D

2 - Mr. H. P. Callahan  
1 - Mr. R. W. Smith

12-16-67

2 - Mr. R. S. Garner  
1 - Miss Butler  
1 - Publications Subscriptions Control Folder

1.1.1

At: Denver (100-445393)

Director: FBI (100-445393)

**EDUCATIONAL - HANDLING OF BY  
RESEARCH-SATELLITE SECTION**

The Bureau is desirous of obtaining a copy of the book "In the Shadow of De launay: A Primer on the Assassination of President Kennedy" published by the editors of Ramparts Magazine. Informants advise book is available only as a bonus with a one-year subscription to Ramparts.

Enclosed is a copy of a brochure from Ramparts publishers which indicates two bonus books will be presented to a subscriber to "Ramparts" for a one-year subscription at \$5. The above book and a book entitled "A Vietnam Primer" published by the editors of Ramparts Magazine are mentioned.

You are authorized to obtain a copy of each of the above books -- whether by renewal of the current subscription or by institution of a new subscription. Since the Bureau is especially anxious to obtain "In the Shadow of De launay", this subscription should be handled immediately.

The Bureau should be advised 30 days prior to the expiration of the 1968 subscription to allow time to consider renewal.

cc: Denver

100-445393-

NOT RECORDED

198 DEC 20 1967

- 1 - Internal Security (Route through for review)
- 1 - Crime Research (Route through for review)
- 1 - Mr. H. P. Row (622) (B)
- 1 - 62-46855 (Book Reviews)
- 1 - 100-445393 ("Ramparts")

AMB:sl  
(13)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7/18/80 BY [signature]

NOTE ON PAGE TWO

ORIGINAL FILED IN

DEC 20 1967

Airtel to SAC, Denver  
RE: PUBLICATIONS - HANDLING OF BY  
RESEARCH-SATELLITE SECTION  
L-004 5762

NOTE: At request of SA [redacted] Crime Research, NY  
was req by let 11-15-67, to obtain & fwd to Bu one  
copy book "In the Shadow of Dallas" for ref purposes.  
As result of F-7 Form to NY, 11-30-67, NY adv book  
unavail for sale -- avail only as a bonus book to  
subscribers of one-yr subs to "Ramparts." Both  
books will be filed in Bufile where not now avail'g e

b6  
b7C

F B I

Date. 12/18/67

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

FROM: SAC, PHILADELPHIA (100-49254) (RUC)

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.  
IS - C  
REGISTRATION ACT  
OO: SAN FRANCISCO

Re San Francisco airtel to Bureau dated 11/9/67 and Philadelphia airtel dated 8/29/67.

Enclosed herewith for Newark is one copy of referenced San Francisco airtel.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

Inasmuch as

being conducted. no further investigation is

- 3 - Bureau (100-445393) (RM)  
 2 - San Francisco (157-459) (RM)  
 2 - Newark (Enc. 1) (RM)  
 1 - Philadelphia (100-49254)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 11/18/88 BY [signature]

Approved: [signature] Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

DEC 28 1967

100-445393-94

PH 100-49254

LEAD

NEWARK:

AT ATLANTIC CITY, N. J.

1. Will review records of [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] for any information on [REDACTED]

b7D

2. Will thereafter identify this company.  
3. Will submit results to Philadelphia.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

DATE: December 19, 1967

FROM : *CM* SAC, NEW HAVEN (97-159) (P)

SUBJECT: *0* RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.  
IS - C  
REGISTRATION ACT  
OO: SAN FRANCISCO  
*gm*

Re Boston letter to Director, 12/11/67.

On 11/29/67, [redacted]

(protect) ad-

vised that a review of [redacted]

The information furnished by [redacted] can be made available only on the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum.

New Haven will continue to review [redacted]

② - Bureau (RM)  
2 - San Francisco (157-459) (RM)  
3 - New Haven (97-159) DEC 54  
(1-100-19201 [redacted])  
JAD/jrb  
(7)

ST-106

13 DEC 22 1967

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/11/80 BY huc

*306*  
54 JAN 2 1968

*SEC.*

b6  
b7C  
b7D

December 27, 1967

REC 18 100 445 393 - 101



b6  
b7C

Dear

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter dated December 21, 1967.

The prosecution of individuals involved in destroying or mutilating draft cards is solely a responsibility of the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice.

Your observations with regard to these matters are appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

1 - New Haven - Enc.

NOTE: This individual is concerned about four editors of Ramparts magazine not being prosecuted for their actions in connection with picture on cover of magazine where their draft cards appear to be in a process of burning.

On 10/16/67 the Department requested investigation of those responsible for this photo. By letters on 11/22/67 and 11/30/67, we advised against interviewing the editors because of their security backgrounds and we asked whether immunity could be granted the individual who photographed the incident. We received no response and by letter 12/20/67, again asked the Department for its observations in these matters. We still await a reply. We have

TRD:cmp:lab

(4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/18/80 BY [signature]

DATE

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

57 JAN

ROOM 1968 TELETYPE UNIT ☐



[REDACTED]

furnished them five investigative reports to date. There is nothing more we can do until we get Department advice. This is being followed closely.

Correspondent, in March, 1965, forwarded a leaflet that was critical of this country's stand in Vietnam. In April and October, 1967, he wrote to complain that after subscribing to Ramparts magazine, his name apparently went on numerous mailing lists of organizations of a controversial nature and he received unsolicited mail from them.

Correspondent is being answered <sup>by</sup> black letterhead instead of blue letterhead as previously inasmuch as this is the fourth communication received from him and he is becoming a chronic letter writer.

December 21, 1967

John Edgar Hoover  
U.S. Department of Justice  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

On the cover of the December issue of Ramparts magazine appears a photo of four upraised hands with each hand holding what are apparently burning draft cards.

I note that these draft cards belong to Ramparts Editor, Warren Hinckle III; art director, Dugald Stermer; managing editor, Robert Scheer; and assistant managing editor, Sol Stern.

REC 18 100-445393101  
Cannot something be done about what I would categorize as anti-American actions by the above mentioned? I realize that a recent court decision in Massachusetts insists that the burning of a draft card is not a violation, however, it was also decided that failure to carry a draft card was a violation of the Selective Service Act. Assuming that the four above mentioned did burn their draft cards, opposed to a possible photo-static copy, they would be in violation by failing to be able to produce their draft cards, and, I sincerely hope, subject to immediate arrest!!

Very truly yours,

*John Albanese*  
John Albanese

CORRESPONDENCE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

COP/

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

DATE: 1/2/68

**CONFIDENTIAL**

SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-70748) (P)

FROM: [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: "RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

IS - C;

REGISTRATION ACT

CLASS. & EXT. BY

REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2

DATE OF REVIEW

Re: San Francisco airtel to Bureau 12/5/67.

On 12/11/67, [REDACTED]

Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions,  
Santa Barbara, California, advised SA GORDON B. PLAYMAN that

[REDACTED] is currently employed there as [REDACTED]

He has been paid  
no other funds for any projects conducted by CSDI. To her  
knowledge, [REDACTED] is not now receiving any royalties from  
any books or publications. She stated that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] at which time the  
regulations of the CSDI required that [REDACTED]

again. She had no idea of how [REDACTED]

She understood that [REDACTED]

is apparently [REDACTED]

This is [REDACTED]

name was [REDACTED]

On 12/12/67, [REDACTED] Santa Barbara  
Credit Bureau, advised that her file on [REDACTED]

was first opened 9/22/60. His former wife was [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] who obtained a final divorce decree 10/9/62. His  
present wife is [REDACTED] His present address is [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] His file contained no derogatory  
information and no record of a savings and loan account or  
brokerage affiliation. His only bank account listed was with  
[REDACTED]

- 2 - San Francisco (157-459) (RM)
- 4 - Los Angeles
- (1 - 100-68168) [REDACTED]

GBP:gcw

(8)

Deleted Copy Sent [REDACTED]

by Letter 4-14-76

Per FOIA Request

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN

OTHERWISE

JAN 5 1968

**CONFIDENTIAL**

Classified by 95C/oms

Declassify on: OADR

PER 100-15000

5 JAN 18 1968

LA 100-70748

in 1965, at which time it was reported to be in the ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ figures. [redacted] had no other income or property listed.

(U) On 12/13/67, [redacted] advised SA GORDON B. PLAYMAN that [redacted] Source was of the opinion that there [redacted] Source was also of the opinion that [redacted] at the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. Source stated that he was only conjecturing in this matter and that he had no specific information.

b6  
b7C  
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(U) Source subsequently advised on the same date that the Communist Party (CP) in Santa Barbara had no information concerning large sums in the possession of [redacted] (X)

On 12/12/67, [redacted] (conceal by request) [redacted] could not be made available without proper subpoena. He stated that he would check with [redacted] however, and determine whether or not any information could be provided without subpoena. He stated that he desired to help the FBI if at all possible.

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b7D

On 12/20/67, [redacted] advised that he could only furnish general information concerning [redacted] He confirmed that [redacted] He declined to furnish [redacted] He also declined to furnish any information [redacted]

He declined to comment on [redacted]

LA 100-70748

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

He suggested the possibility that [redacted] may be

[redacted] but stated that he could provide no facts on which to base this. He stated that he had no information which would indicate that [redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

On 12/27/67, [redacted] Santa Barbara Credit Bureau, advised that an inquiry by her on that day indicated that [redacted]

In view of the above information, Los Angeles does not feel that [redacted]

Los Angeles files contain the following information concerning [redacted]

[redacted] has never been the subject of a security investigation by the Los Angeles Division since there have never been any allegations on his part of membership in a basis revolutionary organization. [redacted]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LA 100-70748

LEADS

LOS ANGELES

AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA: Will determine source

[REDACTED]

AT SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA: Will recontact  
and report any additional information concerning

[REDACTED]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

(U)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE  
FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH OF LOS ANGELES

A source advised on May 22, 1967, that the premises of the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles, 2936 West 8th Street, Los Angeles, California, have been utilized for meetings by Communist Party members and sympathizers over a period of years. Speakers and lecturers at the church frequently espouse Communist causes or follow the Communist Party line. Communist front group literature is distributed at the church. The church is used by some Communist Party members for "mass concentration" work.

This same infiltration extends to adjuncts of the church such as the Unitarian Public Forum and the Fellowship for Social Justice, formerly known as the Unitarian-Universalist Fellowship for Social Justice.

STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN has been minister of the church since 1948.

Reverend STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN is described in the Fourth Report, Un-American Activities Committee in California, 1948, Page 115, as a very active "Communist fronter" and connected with numerous "Communist front organizations and activities."

Membership in the First Unitarian Church does not, of itself, connote membership in or sympathy with the Communist Party.

APPENDIX~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE  
WOMEN STRIKE FOR PEACE,  
Also Known As  
Women's International Strike for Peace

A source advised on May 14, 1967, that the Women Strike for Peace (WSP) in the Southern California area began its operations in the late fall of 1961, as an affiliate of the national organization formed in Washington, D.C. It is a peace oriented women's organization which is opposed to the present American foreign policy in Vietnam. It has also sought legislation which would bring about the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA). In recent months the organization has sponsored demonstrations protesting the United States involvement in Vietnam and calling for the complete withdrawal of all United States troops from Vietnam. In the spring of 1966, it was instrumental in originating and putting into effect a campaign advocating support for "peace candidates" in the upcoming 1966 Congressional elections.

The same source stated that WSP is a non-membership organization and has no officers. The organization is open to women of all political opinions who are interested in world peace. It makes no effort to exclude from its activities members of, or persons sympathetic to, the Communist Party and related groups.

The guiding force behind the Southern California WSP groups is [redacted]. A second source advised in July, 1955, that [redacted] was dropped from the Western Division, Los Angeles County Communist Party (LACCP) in the Spring of 1955, for personal reasons and not because of any political differences with the LACCP.

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The first source advised that Southern California WSP maintains its office at 5899 West Pico Boulevard, Los Angeles. It receives mail through Post Office Box 19739, Los Angeles 19, California.

APPENDIX~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DISCUSSION UNLIMITED, INC.

Records of the Division of Corporations, California State of Department of Investments, Los Angeles, California, indicate that Discussion Unlimited filed its Articles of Incorporation as a nonprofit corporation, with the Secretary of State, Sacramento, California, on or about June 4, 1963, noting its principal site of office as Los Angeles County, California. The aims and purposes of the organization, as listed in the Articles of Incorporation, are "...to promote full and open discussion on our society and problems".

A source advised on May 8, 1963, that Discussion Unlimited, Inc. actually was originated in Los Angeles, California, in May, 1962, and was composed largely of a number of present and former Communist Party members who assist in staging panel forums and in promoting such events. Original coordinator of the group was [redacted] who in 1961, was [redacted] Southern California District Communist Party.

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b7C

This source was recontacted on April 9, 1965, and indicated that the basic concept of Discussion Unlimited, Inc. has not changed. It continues to present "left ideas" to at least partially non-committed audiences. It proposes to develop special activities around various issues on an irregular basis. It is not a membership organization, and does not hold regular meetings as such, but rather is strictly a forum-type organization.

On May 10, 1967, another source reported that Discussion Unlimited, Inc. continues to operate as a forum-type organization.

APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

EMERGENCY COUNCIL ON THE CRISIS  
IN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY (ECCAFP)

In June, 1965, a source advised that [ ] and [ ] formed a new organization called Emergency Council on the Crisis in American Foreign Policy (ECCAFP) in June, 1965.

b6  
b7C

A second source advised in October, 1965, that [ ] and wife, [ ] former residents of Ohio, moved to California in the 1950's. Prior to moving to California, both of these individuals had been members of the Communist Party (CP) in Ohio where they were acquainted with and worked with GUS HALL, then head of the CP, Ohio District, and now General Secretary of the CP, USA. In recent months, GUS HALL has renewed his acquaintanceship with the [ ] in California, and has met personally with both of them. In his contacts with the [ ] particularly with [ ] it was obvious that HALL dealt with these individuals as party members and as persons considered highly trusted by him.

According to the first source, [ ] stated that the specific aim of ECCAFP is to effectively pursue political action "as everything we do will involve trying to move some Congressman or Senator or the President." According to this source, she further stated, "we are taking the approach that the military now dominate our foreign policy and this is the cause of our current woes. We are urging a return to open discussions, congressional debates, a different kind of advisors, etc." ECCAFP supports all organizations that are opposed to war in Vietnam.

APPENDIX CONTINUED

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2

APPENDIX CONTINUED

EMERGENCY COUNCIL ON THE CRISIS  
IN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY (ECCAFP)

On May 11, 1966, a third source advised that ECCAFP supports those candidates for election in the local, state, and national levels who advocate United States withdrawal from Vietnam. ECCAFP has sponsored teach-ins and forums which are opposed to the United States foreign policy in Vietnam.

On June 24, 1966, the third source advised that [redacted] had resigned her position as Executive Secretary of the ECCAFP. On October 14, 1966, this source advised that the ECCAFP was virtually defunct.

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b7c

APPENDIX

10\*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. Bishop

DATE: 11-6-67

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: THE SHADOW OF DALLAS:  
A PRIMER ON THE ASSASSINATION  
OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY"  
PUBLISHED BY "RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

By letter dated 10-31-67, the Cincinnati Office forwarded an advertisement sent by "Ramparts" magazine, 1255 Portland Place, Boulder, Colorado, as a subscription gimmick. As an inducement to subscribe to "Ramparts," the potential customer is offered either a copy of captioned book or one called "A Vietnam Primer" also published by "Ramparts" magazine, as a bonus to a six-months subscription or is given both these books if he subscribes for a full year. "In the Shadow of Dallas" is described as a "newly-revised... collection of exclusive articles on the assassination and its aftermath" taken from "the pages of Ramparts." Among the articles is one entitled "The Case for Jim Garrison," by William W. Turner, which purports to analyze the facts of New Orleans District Attorney Garrison's investigation and which purports to explain, "Why large television networks--and the FBI and CIA--are so set on discrediting Garrison."

## INFORMATION IN BUFILES:

"Ramparts" magazine and William W. Turner are, of course, well known to the Bureau. Bufiles contain no reference to "In the Shadow of Dallas" nor can any reference therein be found to "The Case for Jim Garrison." Apparently this bonus-book (96 pages in length) is merely a reprint of articles which previously were carried in "Ramparts" magazine. It would also appear that "The Case for Jim Garrison" may be, at least in large part, a synthesis of such articles as "The Plot Thickens," "The Inquest," and "The Press Versus Garrison," which appeared respectively in the April, June, and September, 1967, issues of "Ramparts," all of which have come to our attention. Turner's latest effort in this direction, "The Press Versus Garrison," is typical. It hints darkly of a great conspiracy and a "massive propaganda barrage" by

- Mr. DeLoach
- Mr. Bishop
- Mr. Sullivan

EDH:jar (7) 16

57 FEB 9 1968

CONTINUED - OVER

100-445393  
NOT RECORDED  
199 DEC 27 1967  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 4/18/90 BY [signature]

ORIGINAL FILED IN 62-109060-54

Jones to Bishop memo  
RE: THE SHADOW OF DALLAS

the large television networks and "the press at large." In concluding this article Turner writes "Such tactics smack of desperation--and indicate there is much to hide."

OBSERVATIONS:

While "In the Shadow of Dallas" will doubtless contain nothing new in regard to the assassination controversy, it is felt that for reference purposes a copy of "In the Shadow of Dallas" would be a useful addition to the Bureau Library.

RECOMMENDATION:

That, if approved, Crime Records will attempt to obtain a copy of "In the Shadow of Dallas" for reference purposes and review.

*discreetly*

*THH* *TEW* *L* *5* *ap.* *ix* *JK* *mm*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

DATE: 1/8/68

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-459)(P)

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE  
IS - C  
REGISTRATION ACT

OO: San Francisco

Re New York airtel to Director dated 12/12/67.

Page 3, paragraph 4 of re airtel reported negative results on [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

[REDACTED] No further [REDACTED] is requested

of New York. If New York has any documents of [REDACTED] in addition to that appearing in the publication "Whos Who" which is pertinent to this investigation, it may be sent to San Francisco.

- (CC 93294)  
2 - Bureau (RM)  
2 - New York (157-1300)(RM)  
1 - San Francisco  
EJO/erg  
(5)

REC-60

100-445393-103

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/18/80 BY [REDACTED]

15 JAN 10 1968

62 JAN 18 1968

January 23, 1968

REC-34

100-445393 104

*[Handwritten signature]*

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

Dear [Redacted]

Your letter of January 15th, with enclosure, has been received. It was thoughtful of you to bring this information to my attention and I appreciate receiving your comments.

Sincerely yours,  
J. Edgar Hoover

MAILED 12  
JAN 23 1968  
COMM-FBI

*[Handwritten signature]*

NOTE: Bufiles indicate one prior outgoing dated 2-10-67 concerning the Consular Treaty. "Ramparts" magazine is the subject of a pending Bureau investigation to determine whether it is in violation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938. The January issue, which correspondent enclosed, has previously been brought to the Bureau's attention.

JBT:dkw (3)  
*dkw*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/18/88 BY *[signature]*

- olson \_\_\_\_\_
- leLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- ohr \_\_\_\_\_
- ishop \_\_\_\_\_
- asper \_\_\_\_\_
- allahan \_\_\_\_\_
- onrad \_\_\_\_\_
- elt \_\_\_\_\_
- ale \_\_\_\_\_
- ysen \_\_\_\_\_
- luvan \_\_\_\_\_
- ivel \_\_\_\_\_
- otter \_\_\_\_\_
- le \_\_\_\_\_
- me \_\_\_\_\_

*B*  
*SEVEN? CUE*

*11/10/80*

*edm*

*dm*

*[Handwritten signature]*

*[Handwritten signature]*

57 FEB 2 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Mr. Tolson ☒  
Mr. DeLoach ☒  
Mr. Mohr ☒  
Mr. Bishop ☒  
Mr. Casper ☒  
Mr. Callahan ☒  
Mr. Conrad ☒  
Mr. Felt ☒  
Mr. Gale ☒  
Mr. Rosen ☒  
Mr. Sullivan ☒  
Mr. Tavel ☒  
Mr. Trotter ☒  
Tele. Room ☒  
Miss Holmes ☒  
Miss Gandy ☒

Box 5496  
China Lake, Calif. 93555

January 15, 1968

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C. 20515

Dear Mr. Hoover:

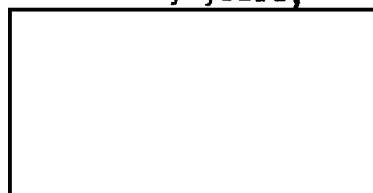
This magazine recently came into my hands, sent to me by one who thought that I might be interested in the JFK article (page 43). A quick perusal of its contents leaves me aghast at its brazen articles, full of innuendos, half-truths (if any truth at all), and downright distortions of fact.

I doubt that anything can be done about the proliferation of such rubbish, since the august pronouncements of the Warren Court, but I felt I must register a voice of disapproval, in the hope that the Congress may at sometime provide you with the authority to look into such matters.

Sincerely yours,

Encl. Ramparts, January 1968

REC-34



EXP. PROC.  
JAN 18 1968

b6  
b7C

100-44-393-104  
JAN 23 1968

ENCLOSURE  
ENCLOSURE BEHIND FILE

CORRESPONDENCE



ST  
esa  
FBI

Date: 1/19/68

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (157-1300) (RUC)

SUBJECT: "RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE, INC.  
IS-C  
REGISTRATION ACT  
(OO:SF)ReSFat to Bureau, 12/5/67; and SFlet to Bureau,  
1/8/68.

On 1/12/68, [redacted] (conceal per

[redacted] advised SA [redacted] that a review  
of the records of [redacted]b6  
b7C  
b7D

- EX-113  
REC-35
- ③ - Bureau (RM)
  - 2 - San Francisco (157-459) (RM)
  - 1 - New York

WHB:ecs  
(7)

CC 932 DSA

100-445393-105  
25 JAN 20 1968ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/18/80 BY [redacted]

C. C. Bishop

INT. SEC.

Approved: [redacted]  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

62 FEB 1 1968

NY 157-1300

The above information is not to be made public without the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum directed to

[REDACTED]

A review of NY indices contain no references for

[REDACTED]

On 1/12/68, [REDACTED] (conceal per request)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised SA [REDACTED] that a review of

[REDACTED]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

The above information is not to be made public without the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum directed to

[REDACTED]

A review of NY indices reflected no references for [REDACTED] A review of NY files reflected no information identifiable with [REDACTED]

ReSFlet dated 1/8/68, requested additional information concerning [REDACTED] other than that contained in the publication, "Who's Who." A review of NY files contained no pertinent information identifiable with this individual.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

FROM : *PWB/son* SAC, NEWARK (100-49658) (RUC)

SUBJECT: *A* <sup>0</sup> RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.  
IS - C  
REGISTRATION ACT  
(OO: San Francisco)

DATE: 1/30/68

Re Newark letter to Bureau dated 11/21/67.  
Philadelphia airtel to Bureau dated 12/18/67.  
San Francisco airtel to Bureau dated 8/17/67.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

Enclosed for the Bureau are three copies of an FD 302 dated 1/10/68, covering view of records of [redacted] by [redacted] who desires that his identity be protected.

Five copies of the above FD 302 are being furnished to San Francisco and one copy of above 302 and one copy of referenced Newark letter are being furnished to Philadelphia for informational purposes.

In regard to [redacted] which described in the enclosed FD 302, [redacted] advised that a review of [redacted]

[redacted] unable to locate [redacted]

2-Bureau (Encs. 3) (RM)  
2-San Francisco (100-445393) (Encs. 5)  
1-Philadelphia (100-49254) (Encs. 2) (Info)  
1-Newark  
TGB:ims  
(6)

REC 18

100-445393  
106

FEB 1 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/27/80 BY [redacted]

57 FEB 6 1968



1

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date January 10, 1968

Review of		
		reflects
		No record of
		was located.

The above information is not to be made public  
except following the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum  
directed to

b6  
b7C  
b7D

On 1/3/68 at  File # Newark 100-49658  
by SA  (A) /lgd Date dictated 1/8/68

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ENCLOSURE

100-442312

b6  
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 02-11-2011 BY 60324 UC/BAW/SAB/DF

100-445393-107  
**CHANGED TO**  
62-113716-X1

OCT 8 1970 <sup>PM</sup>

MH/RJE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

FROM : SAC, NEW HAVEN (97-159) (P)

SUBJECT: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.  
IS-C  
REGISTRATION ACT  
(OO:SF)

DATE: 2/7/68

Re: Bureau letter to New Haven, 2/1/68.

New Haven has been able to review [REDACTED]

New Haven will continue to review [REDACTED] if there is any information reflecting [REDACTED] this will be reported by New Haven.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/18/80 BY [REDACTED]

- 3- Bureau
- 2- San Francisco (157-459)
- 3- New Haven (2- 97-159)  
(1- 100-19201)

EX 101

16 FEB 9 11

JAD:cah  
(8)

REGISTERED MAIL



9 FEB 21 1968

CC 932 DSY

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

b6  
b7C  
b7D

INT. SEC.

TO : SAC, San Francisco (Your file 157-459) DATE: 7-4-68

FROM : Director, FBI (Bufile and Serial 100-443 393) ☒ Post in file and  
Room No. 9329th-D destroy 0-1

**SUBJECT :**

☐ 1. Bufiles indicate this case is delinquent. Give specific reason for delinquency.

☒ 2. DATE ☐ airtel ☐ letterhead memo ☐ submitted  
☐ report *Revised 11-6-67*  
☐ letter ☐ 90-day progress letter ☐ will be submitted

Reporting employee

☐ 3. If valid reason exists for not submitting report at this time, state reason specifically and when report will be submitted \_\_\_\_\_

☐ 4. Status of ☐ Appeal ☐ Inquiry ☐  
☐ airtel ☐ letterhead memo  
☒ 5. Submit ☐ report  
☐ letter ☐ 90-day progress letter

SEARCHED *at* INDEXED *at*  
Investigation *at* Prosecution  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE *01/08/89* BY *huc*

(Place reply hereon and return to Bureau. Note receipt and acknowledgment on top serial in case file.)

907-37-48

155

~~SECRET~~

EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC  
DECLASSIFICATION  
AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
EXEMPTION CODE: 25X(1)  
DATE OF REVIEW: 2-16-88  
FOIA INFORMATION ONLY

# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

REPORTING OFFICE <b>SAN FRANCISCO</b>	OFFICE OF ORIGIN <b>SAN FRANCISCO</b>	DATE <b>2/16/68</b>	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD <b>6/15/67 - 2/15/68</b>
TITLE OF CASE <b>CLASSIFIED BY SSA 9803 RDD/DA DECLASSIFY ON: 25X(1)(C) 405,193 9/20/03 SPICER/DA CA 02-0603 over only RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.</b>		REPORT MADE BY <b>EDWARD J. O'FLYNN</b>	TYPED BY <b>mcn</b>
CLASS. & EXT. BY <b>SP2 TAP/AHC 6-11-79</b> REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2 <b>2/3</b> DATE OF REVIEW <b>2-16-88</b> (Spv computer) # 6853		CHARACTER OF CASE <b>INTERNAL SECURITY - C REGISTRATION ACT</b>	

~~Limited Classification  
Review Conducted  
See Top Serial  
Form 4-774?~~

REFERENCE: Report of SA EDWARD J. O'FLYNN dated 6/16/67 at San Francisco.

ADMINISTRATIVE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

CLASSIFIED BY: **SP10 BJA/CS**  
DECLASSIFY ON: **QADR**

Referral/Consult

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

CC TO: **AECW**  
REQ REC'D **12-2-69**  
DEC 11 1969  
ANS.  
BY: **LWP AEE**

Deleted Copy Sent  
by Letter **2-14-76**  
Per FOIA Request

CLASSIFIED DECISIONS FINALIZED BY  
DEPARTMENT REVIEW COMMITTEE (DRC)  
DATE: **11/20/91 + 12/11/91 9803 RDD/DA 4-10-92**  
**FOIPA # 87,063 Appeal 85-0650 (PGS. A,C,28,29 & 78 ONLY)**

Deleted Copy Sent  
by Letter **2-14-76**  
Per FOIA Request **2-9-77**

has been Pending over one year ☐ Yes ☐ No Pending prosecution over six months ☐ Yes ☐ No

- APPROVED **CWB** SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE
- COPIES MADE:
- 5 - Bureau (100-445393) (RM)
  - 2 - Boston (100-37684) (RM)
  - 2 - Denver (100-9382) (RM)
  - 2 - Newark (100-49658) (RM)
  - 2 - New Haven (97-159) (RM)
  - 2 - New York (157-1300) (RM)
  - 1 - Philadelphia (100-49254) (RM)
  - 3 - Los Angeles (100-68155) (RM)
  - 3 - San Francisco (157-459)

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

by	date	initials	action
ACSL	6/10/01		State, CIA, RPOC
3	8-68		REVERSE SIDE
11	12-15		ADD. DISSEMINATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

**100-445393-108**

CLASSIFIED BY **2955 RDD/DA** 9-25-78  
EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

REC-4

REFERRAL DOCUMENT

NOTATIONS

FOIPA # **2094100**

APPEAL #

CIVIL ACT. #

E.O. #

DATE **2-9-84** INITIALS **CS**

~~SECRET~~



~~SECRET~~

CC TO WH. PD  
RR 3/22/95  
Apr 17 1995  
ANS BY [redacted]

REC'D  
INTELL DIV.

FEB 21 5-43 PM '68

Photo Page 1-7, 21-76  
CC TO: FO: 7, -6-76  
REQ REC: 7, -6-76  
JAN 23 1976  
ANS. BY: A. B. [signature]

Re [redacted]

b6

b7C

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

SF 157-459  
EJO:mcn

3 Identity of Source

File Where Located

SF T-1

[redacted] (by request)

[redacted]

SF T-2

[redacted] (by request)

[redacted]

SF T-3

[redacted] (by request)

[redacted]

SF T-4

[redacted] (by request)

[redacted]

SF T-5

[redacted] (by request)

[redacted]

SF T-6

[redacted] (by request)

[redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

35

B  
COVER PAGE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

SF 157-459  
EJO:mcn

3 Identity of Source

File Where Located

SF T-7

[redacted] (by request)

[redacted]

SF T-8

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SF T-9 is

[redacted]

SF T-10 is

[redacted] (X)u

SF T-11 is

[redacted]

SF T-12 is  
NY 3810-S\*

SF T-13 is

[redacted] (X)u  
NY 694-S\*

SF T-14 is

[redacted] (X)u

SF T-15

[redacted]

SF T-16

[redacted] (by request)

24

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SF 157-459  
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3 Identity of Source

File Where Located

SF T-17 is

[REDACTED]

SF T-18

[REDACTED] (by request)

[REDACTED]

SF T-19

[REDACTED] (by request)

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SF T-20 is

[REDACTED]

SF T-21

[REDACTED] (by request)

[REDACTED]

SF T-22

[REDACTED]

Referral/Consult

SF T-23 is  
CG 5824-S\*

SF T-24

[REDACTED] (by req. st)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

34

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3 Identity of Source

File Where Located

SF T-25

[redacted] (by request)

[redacted]

SF T-26

[redacted] (by request)

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SF T-27

[redacted] (by request)

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SF T-28 is

[redacted]

SF T-29

[redacted]

SF T-30

[redacted] (by request)

[redacted]

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3 Identity of Source

File Where Located

(S) SF T-31 is [redacted] (S)

SF T-32 [redacted] (by request)

SF T-33 [redacted] (by request)

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b7D

(S) [redacted]

LEADS

BOSTON

AT BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS. Maintain contact with [redacted]

(2) Check source of [redacted]

b7D

DENVER

AT PUEBLO, COLORADO. Maintain contact with Neodata Company regarding circulation and subscription income of Ramparts and submit results monthly.

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LOS ANGELES

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AT SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA. Continue logical investigation to ascertain [redacted]  
[redacted]

AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA. Check [redacted]  
to Ramparts [redacted]  
[redacted] as reported by SF T-6 on pg 19 of report.

AT BURBANK, CALIFORNIA. Check [redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted]

NEW HAVEN

AT HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT. Main contact with local sources on [redacted]  
[redacted]

NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK. Check [redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted] as reported by SF T-6 on pg. 19 of report.

NEWARK

Note information on page 19 of report [redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted]

[redacted] Newark should review its investigation in a search for extraneous funds used to subsidize Ramparts.

Reported information reflects [redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted]

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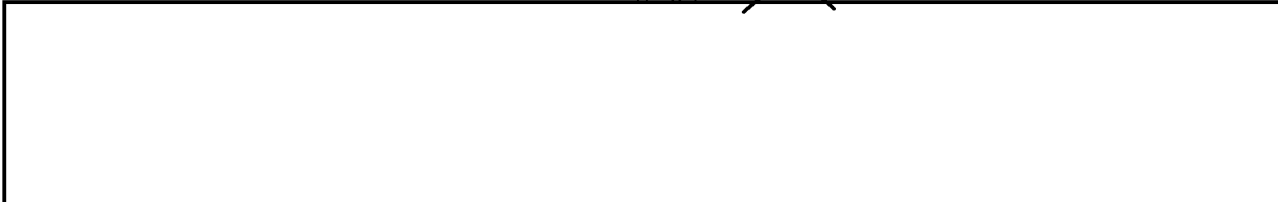
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Newark is requested to recommend further investigation to resolve whether or not extraneous funds are being given to Ramparts through the Sugar Low Company.

PHILADELPHIA (Information)

For information concerning [redacted]

[redacted] in the event that the Newark Office requests additional investigation.

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**UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

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EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC  
DECLASSIFICATION  
AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
EXEMPTION CODE: 25X(1)  
DATE 05-25-2011  
FBI INFORMATION ONLY

Copy to:

4/9/96  
CLASSIFIED BY ~~SSA9803RDD/RL~~  
DECLASSIFY ON: ~~25X(1)(6)~~

Report of:  
Date:

EDWARD J. O'FLYNN  
2/16/68

Office: San Francisco,  
California

Field Office File #: 157-459

Bureau File #: 100-445393

Title: RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.

CLASSIFIED BY: ~~SP8 BCL/RL~~  
DECLASSIFY ON: ~~25X(1)(6)~~

Character:

INTERNAL SECURITY - C  
REGISTRATION ACT

## Synopsis:

Record of stock transfers of Ramparts Magazine reported from records of California Division of Corporation which requires stock to be held in escrow because of deficit operation. Ramparts deficit reported as \$1,512,692 as of 12/31/66. Deposits in Ramparts account in excess of \$5,000 reported and sources identified. Financial supporters and stockholders identified and described.

REFERRAL DOCUMENT  
FOI/PA #209641001 - P - R AIC  
APPEAL #  
CIVIL ACT. #  
F.O. #  
DATE 8/29/84 INITIALS ~~RL~~ PREDICATION

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF ~~Classification~~  
DATE 2-9-78 ~~SP8 BCL/RL~~  
0112-79 Referral/Consult

This investigation was initiated to determine if Ramparts Magazine, Inc. is in violation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938 in that it has not registered with the Attorney General and may currently be engaged in acts of distribution of propaganda, acting as a political agent, collecting information, forwarding information, et cetera, while acting as the agent of a foreign principal.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE.

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~~Group 1~~  
~~Excluded from automatic~~  
~~downgrading and~~  
~~declassification~~

Classified by ~~SP8 BCL/RL~~  
Exempt from GDS, Category ~~2+3~~  
Date of Declassification Indefinite  
~~0112-79~~

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SF 157-459  
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.

	<u>Pages</u>
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VI. APPENDIX.....	

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SF 157-459  
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## I. ORIGIN, SCOPE AND GENERAL ACTIVITIES

### A. History and Corporate Structure

#### 1. Subsidiary Corporations of Ramparts

##### Western Media Corporation

The records of the California Division of Corporations, 1470 Mission Street on Ramparts Magazine, Incorporated, file number 92365-SF contained a copy of a certificate dated November 20, 1967, issued by WILLIAM D. EVERS, acting assistant Secretary of Western Media Corporation, stating that the Board of Directors of Western Media on November 17, 1967 by unanimous written consent without a meeting agreed to purchase 40,000 shares of \$10 par value stock of Ramparts Magazine at \$15.00 per share from EDWARD M. KEATING in the following terms: \$20,000 cash payable before December 1, 1967 and balance in ten equal annual installments - non-interest bearing.

*Ed Keating*  
The records of the California Division of Corporations reflect that Ramparts Magazine are authorized to issue a total of 200,000 shares of stock. Stock issued prior to the above petition to transfer \$40,000 shares from EDWARD M. KEATING to Western Media on November 17, 1967 totaled 159,350 shares.

*Edward M. Keating* *Edward Keating*  
The records of the California Division of Corporations (file No. 110686SF) reflected on February 8, 1968 that Western Media Corporation on October 26, 1967, received a permit on October 26, 1967 to sell 100 shares of its capital stock to Ramparts Magazine Incorporated at \$10.00 per share. Western Media Corporation in its application dated October 20, 1967, to sell these shares stated that its principal offices are at 301 Broadway, San Francisco (same address as Ramparts Magazine business and editorial offices) and that Western Media proposes to develop and market a system of categorizing research to publishers of newspapers, magazines and periodicals. It stated that Western Media Corporation will be the wholly owned subsidiary of Ramparts Magazine Incorporated and that all of Western Media's directors are also directors of Ramparts

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Magazine and will use their experience in solving research problems associated with Ramparts Magazine in developing the system. The application further stated that no shares had been issued and that this application was for an initial issue. Applicant had not commenced doing business and had neither assets or liabilities other than costs of organizing. Western Media would use the \$1,000 proceeds from sale of stock for promotion, advertising and working capital.

The Directors and executive officers of Western Media were listed as follows:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Address</u>	<u>Office</u>
<del>Gerald M. Feigen</del> <i>G.M. Feigen</i>		
GERALD MASON <del>FEIGEN</del>		President & Director

Described as

Is currently a director of Ramparts Magazine.

RICHARD D. RUSSELL

Secretary, Treasurer and Director

Described as

and currently a Director of Ramparts Magazine.

✓ STANLEY K. ~~SHEINBAUM~~

*Stanley Sheinbaum*

Director

Described as

Currently a Director of Ramparts, Warner David Company, Incorporated, (all of California).

WARREN ~~HINCKLE~~ III

*Warren James Hinckle*

Director

Described as editor of Ramparts and a Director

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WILLIAM D. EVERS

Assistant Secretary  
Assistant Treasurer

The records of the Clerk of Court, San Francisco, on February 7, 1968, reflected under file reference No. 57783 that Western Media Corporation filed a petition for incorporation on September 21, 1967 with the purpose stated as primarily to engage in the specific business of devising and marketing research methodology to publishers of newspapers, magazines and periodicals.

The original directors named in this petition were as follows:

Name	Address
1. MICHAEL L. PARKER	650 California Street San Francisco, California
2. LOUIS HONIG, Jr.	650 California Street San Francisco, California
3. J. RONALD PENGILLY	650 California Street San Francisco, California
4. RICHARD A. DUMKE	650 California Street San Francisco, California
5. ALLAN A. JOSEPH	650 California Street San Francisco, California

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The current San Francisco telephone directory lists the above directors

WILLIAM D. EVERS currently the Assistant Secretary-Treasurer of Western Media

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Magazine.

For information on financial transactions of Western Media relative to Ramparts Magazine, see the Funds Section of this report.

Writers Assistance Institute Incorporated

The records of the Clerk of the Court, San Francisco on February 7, 1968, contained a petition for incorporation dated August 30, 1967 for a non-profit corporation to be known as the Writers Assistance Institute, Incorporated, formed for the purpose of enabling writers to develop and publish original research in the disciplines such as history, political science, education, sociology and ethics by providing financial assistance to writers in the form of but not limited to scholarship, stipends and research grants to undertake related acts necessary to accomplish these purposes.

The limitations set forth in the articles of incorporation were as follows:

1. No contributions or income shall go to any organization whose net earnings inure to the benefit of private share holders or any activities which is carrying on propaganda or otherwise attempting to influence legislation or political campaigns for public office.
2. Only reasonable compensation to be paid to officers or trustees.
3. Upon dissolution assets may go to charitable organizations exempt from Federal Taxation under Section 501 (c) (3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954.

Trustees of the Writers Assistance Institute listed in the Fourth Article of incorporation were as follows:

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SF 157-459  
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LOUIS HONIG, Jr.

650 California Street  
San Francisco, California

EMMETT F. HARRINGTON

650 California Street  
San Francisco, California

SHELDON H. WOLFE

650 California Street  
San Francisco, California

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The current San Francisco telephone directory lists the first two directors [redacted]

WILLIAM D. EVERS, Assistant Secretary-Treasurer of Western Media is [redacted]

[redacted] of Ramparts Magazine.

For information on the financial transactions of Writers Assistance Institute Incorporated relative to Rampart Magazine see the Funds Section of this report.

## 2. Stockholders and Stock Transfers

*DASCHBACK, Howard*  
The article of Incorporation of Rampart Magazine authorized the issuance of 200,000 shares of stock at a par value of \$10.00 each share. The records of the Division of California Corporations on February 8, 1968, reflect that due to the deficit in the capital account of this corporation all shares issued are held in an escrow account and may not be transferred without authorization of the Commissioner of Corporations. On April 13, 1966, an order was entered changing the Escrow-Holder of Ramparts shares from HOWARD DASCHBACK, Attorney at Law to GERALD C. VANOLI, Attorney at Law, 111 St. John Street, San Jose, California.

The records of the California Division of Corporations reflected that EDWARD M. KEATING was issued shares in the Laymen's Press Incorporated which was later changed into Ramparts Magazine Incorporated, totaling 60,200 between the dated October 6, 1961 and September 14, 1965.

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The total of 60,200 shares in escrow were transferred from KEATING to the following individuals on the dates indicated:

<u>Date &amp; Account</u>	<u>Transferee</u>	<u>Payment</u>
1/24/66 12,500 sh.	WARREN HINCKLE (10,000sh) JOSEPH IPPOLITO (2,500 sh)	No consideration
1/18/67 4,900 sh.	DUGALD STERMER (2,500 sh) ROBERT SCHEER (1,500 sh) HOWARD GOSSAGE (450 sh) GERALD FEIGEN (450 sh)	No consideration
12/13/67 42,800 sh.	Western Media Corporation	\$15.00 per share, terms \$20,000 cas: on 12/11/67 and Balance in ten equal annual in- stallments non- interest bearing.

The records of the California Division of Corporations reflect that JOSEPH IPPOLITO of San Jose received 2,500 shares of Ramparts from EDWARD M. KEATING on January 24, 1966, without paying any consideration and on February 11, 1967, transferred these shares held in escrow to FREDERICK C. MITCHELL in consideration of \$3,125.00.

JOSEPH IPPOLITO in 1965 was the Treasurer of Ramparts Magazine and was listed as a member of the Board of Directors in the May 1967, issue of Ramparts.

The records of the California Division of Corporations reflect that the following amounts of Ramparts stock, par value \$10.00 was issued in escrow for cash or cancellation of past indebtedness to the following individuals on the dates indicated:

<u>Date</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Transferee and description</u>
2/7/66	10,000 sh.	FREDERICK C. MITCHELL

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4/13/66	10,000 sh.	LOUIS HONIG and/or LOUIS and MIRIAM HONIG <i>no 10</i> <u>Foundation</u> , a charitable corporation.
10/20/66	9,750 sh.	LOUIS HONIG, a share holder and director of Ramparts. IRVING LAUCKS - [redacted] [redacted] DANIEL BERNSTEIN - [redacted] [redacted] and Ramparts Director.
2/15/67	10,000 sh.	FREDERICK C. MITCHELL
2/15/67	1,000 sh.	HOWARD GOSSAGE and GERALD FEIGEN. <i>b6 b7c</i>
2/1/67	400 sh.	LOUIS HONIG
4/21/67	10,000 sh.	MARTIN PERETZ
5/1/67	1,250 sh.	LOUIS HONIG
5/25/67	12,000 sh.	MARTIN PERETZ and JUNE O. DEGNAN
6/5/67	30,000 sh.	DANIEL BERNSTEIN (director) STANLEY SHEINBAUM (past director and member of editorial staff.) MARTIN PERETZ (director) FEDERICK HEIM [redacted] [redacted] [redacted]

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10/20/67

9,750 sh.

To any or all of:  
LOUIS HONIG, IRVING LAUCKS,  
and DANIEL BERNSTEIN.

The above reported issue of Ramparts stock in escrow totals 164,350 including the 60,200 shares originally issued to EDWARD M. KEATING and later transferred by him to other transferees are previously reported.

The law suit filed in Superior Court, San Francisco on May 2, 1967, by EDWARD M. KEATING against Ramparts Magazine under docket number 578431 was rechecked on February 7, 1968 and no further action had been taken in this case.

B. Circulation

Subscription income received by Ramparts Magazine was reported as follows:

SUBSCRIPTION INCOME

<u>MONTH</u>	<u>AMOUNT</u>
August, 1966	\$ 122.82
September, 1966	3,063.68
October, 1966	44,726.01
November, 1966	66,329.76
December, 1966	45,777.38
January, 1967	38,670.00
February, 1967	30,932.69
March, 1967	52,575.38
April, 1967	47,566.21
May, 1967	92,019.79
June, 1967	59,429.19
July, 1967	70,486.07
August, 1967	34,879.93
September, 1967	43,155.19
October, 1967	40,439.39
November, 1967	72,943.06

[SF T-1 on 12/15/67] (X)u

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follows: Mailed subscriptions of Ramparts Magazine were as

CIRCULATION

NUMBER OF SUBSCRIPTION COPIES MAILED

<u>MONTH</u>	<u>AMOUNT</u>
August, 1966	41,225
September, 1966	No issues printed
October, 1966	45,550
November, 1966	41,236
December, 1966	60,659
January, 1967	72,429
February, 1967	78,221
March, 1967	83,257
April, 1967	84,088
May, 1967	90,196
June, 1967	150,204
July, 1967	113,981
August, 1967	No issues printed
September, 1967	122,515
October, 1967	113,601
November, 1967	105,137

[SF T-1 on 12/15/67] (X) u

C. Funds

The records of the California Division of Corporation on February 8, 1968 contained a financial statement of Ramparts Magazine Incorporated as of December 31, 1966 which read as follows:

Assets

Cash	\$100.00
Accounts	140,126.00
Prepaid Expenses	17,109.00
Office furniture & Equip	11,091.00
Deposits and other assets	6,996.00
Total	\$175,422.00

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Liabilities and Capital

Bank Overdraft	\$ 21,779.00
Accounts Payable	310,233.00
Payroll Taxes Payable	5,023.00
Loans from Stockholders	238,972.00
Notes Payable	216,082.00
Interest Payable	<u>10,525.00</u>
Total	802,614.00

Capital

Capital Stock	\$849,500.00
Paid in Surplus	<u>36,000.00</u>
Deficit	1,512,692.00 (671,192)

(Note current deficit stated above as \$671,192 appears to be arithmetically incorrect as current liabilities of \$802,614 less current assets of \$175,422 would give a figure of (\$627,192) as the current deficit for the year 1966.)

Statement of Retained Earnings

Deficit 7/1/66	(1,276,649)
Net Loss thru 12/31/66	<u>(236,043)</u>
Deficit	1,512,692

A credit report of DUN & BRADSTREET dated September 19, 1967 read in part as follows:

FINANCE

On September 19, 1967, KALDENBACH, Controller, submitted estimates from ledger dated June 30, 1967:

Cash	\$ 6,000
Accounts Receivable	167,000
Merchandise	<u>1,000</u>
Current	174,000
Fixt & Equip	13,000
Cap Earn Sub List	<u>131,000</u>
Rental	
Total	318,000

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Accounts Payable	\$226,000
Others	<u>4,000</u>
Current	230,000
Long Term Notes	384,000
Int Payable	16,000
Sub Ppd	319,000
NET WORTH	<u>(631,000)</u>
Total	318,000

Annual sales \$1,300,000; gross loss (\$300,000). Full coverage fire insurance on merchandise and fixtures.

Submitted and signed by ROBERT ~~X~~ KALDENBACH, Controller,  
September 19, 1967.

The financial estimates show non current assets of \$131,000 which is for capitalization of subscribers list which is rented to other magazines. This rental is valued over a five year period. Also the long term notes are not due within a number of years. They are payable to stockholders and individuals. One of liability is subscriptions prepaid by subscribers for issues not yet published.

*Robert X Kaldenbach*

The figures show a deficit net worth, condition is unbalanced because of this. Last year Subject operated a gross loss of \$300,000.

*Robert X Kaldenbach*

Management has been completely changed and operations are being conducted more satisfactorily now. Outside comment is favorable.

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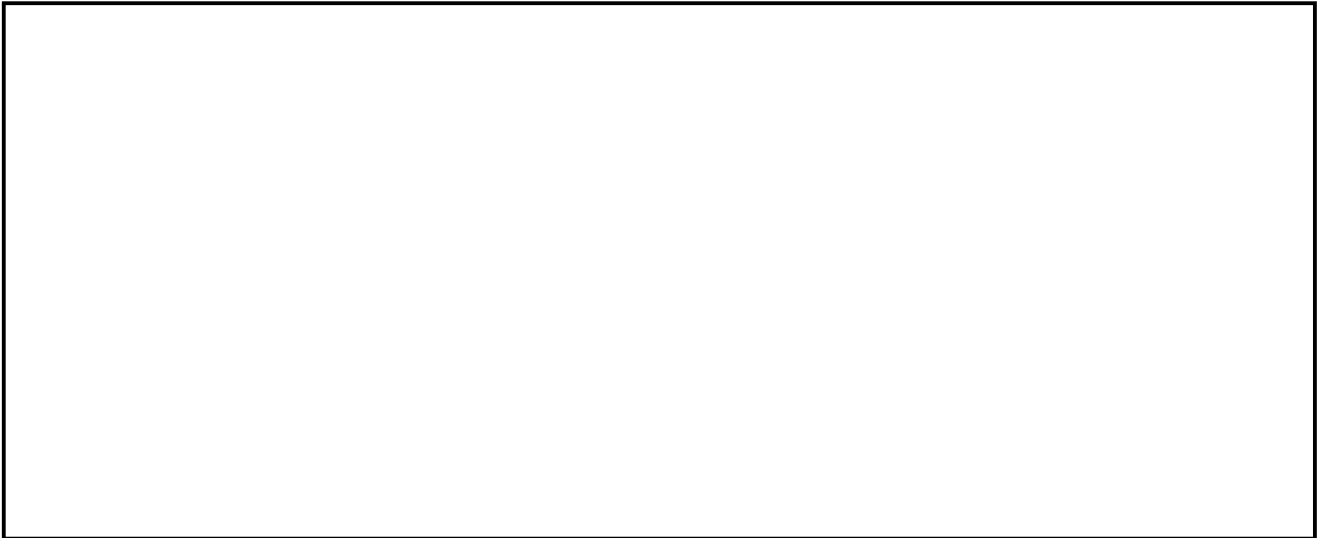
This information is from [redacted]  
and can only be obtained through the issuance of a subpoena duces  
tecum directed to [redacted]  
[redacted]

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Above information is privileged and can only be obtained for evidentiary purposes through the issuance of a Subpoena duces tecum addressed to [redacted]

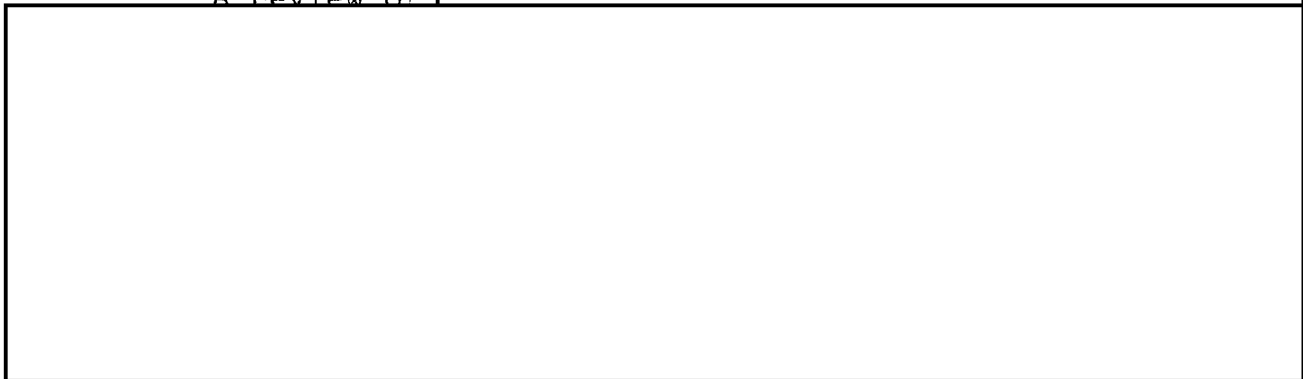
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[SF T-6 on 11/13/67] (X) U

The records of [redacted]



A review of [redacted]



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FUNDS (continued)

Records of [REDACTED]

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The above information is considered confidential and should not be made public except in the usual proceeding after issuance of a subpoena duces tecum.

(S)u [SF T-2 on 10/25/67] (S)u

(S)u SF T-3 explained that [REDACTED]

On November 30, 1967, Source advised that [REDACTED]

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FUNDS (continued)

[Redacted]

[SF T-4 on 11/30/67] (X) U

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[Redacted]

(See financial supporters section of this report  
for documentation on [Redacted])

[Redacted]

[SF T-5 on 6/5/67] (X) U

The records of the Town Clerk, West Hartford,  
Connecticut, were reviewed June 5, 1967, under the name of  
[Redacted] Under the name of  
[Redacted] a transaction was located showing that this  
name is now, [Redacted]

[Redacted]

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FUNDS (continued)

It was noted that on May 24, 1967 [ ] attorney filed a mortgage deed showing that [ ] had sold one of the parcels of land to Ramparts for the sum of [ ]. This property is number 612 New Park Avenue and consists of a one story building (10,000 square feet) and a large lot. The terms of the agreement, which had been drawn up March 31, 1967, was signed by [ ] for Ramparts, in the presence of [ ] and [ ].

Records of the Town Clerk, Town Hall, West Hartford, Connecticut, were reviewed August 30, 1967, by Special Agent [ ]

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Volume 434, Land Records, reflected that on page 355 a Warranty Deed was registered May 24, 1967, showing that [ ] sold to Ramparts Magazine, Incorporated, a parcel of land for \$400,000.

Volume 434, page 357, reflected that a mortgage was registered May 24, 1967, reflecting that Ramparts Magazine, Incorporated, owed [ ] the sum of \$400,000, and that beginning May 1, 1967, 300 installments of \$2340 per month was to be paid to [ ]. The agreement was signed by officers of Ramparts Magazine, Incorporated, one of whom was [ ] who identified himself as [ ] Ramparts Magazine, Incorporated.

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D. FINANCIAL SUPPORTERS

[redacted] (See Funds Section for activities supporting Ramparts.)

[redacted] Source stated that from his contact with [redacted] he has found him to be a man particularly well versed in finance and having a very sharp mind with respect to the business field. [redacted]

[redacted] is an exceptionally capable man in his field and completely reliable. [redacted]

Source stated that he judges [redacted]

Source feels [redacted]

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FINANCIAL SUPPORTERS (Continued)

Source stated that he understands that

Source has knowledge of  
recently contacted

SF T-4 on 12/11/67

BIRTH

Connecticut State Bureau  
of Vital Statistics, 79 Elm Street, Hartford, Connecticut, advised  
April 19, 1967, that her records reflect that one  
was born on at Hartford, Connecticut, to

EDUCATION

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Hartford, Connecticut.  
advised June 12, 1967, that graduated from  
but he did not know under what name graduated.

CHANGE OF NAME

The files of the Passport Office, United States Department  
of State (USDS), Washington, D.C., which were reviewed by a repre-  
sentative of the Federal Bureau of Investigation on June 6, 1967,  
contained the following information:

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SF 157-459

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FINANCIAL SUPPORTERS (Continued)

[redacted] exhibited a birth certificate in the name of [redacted]

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[redacted] He gave his permanent residence as [redacted]

He stated that he was married

to [redacted] who was born [redacted]

EMPLOYMENT

Records of the Hartford Credit Rating Bureau, 55 Allyn Street, Hartford, Connecticut, were reviewed November 21, 1966, by [redacted] and reflected that [redacted] has been known to the files of this Bureau since 1948. He is reported to have an income of [redacted] and is listed as [redacted]. He was also listed as being the owner of [redacted]

The file reflects that [redacted] formerly resided at [redacted]

The file further reflected that [redacted] came to [redacted] where he had been [redacted]

[redacted] Clerk Secretary of States Office, Incorporated Division, Hartford, Connecticut, advised June 6, 1967, that her file reflects that [redacted]

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SF 157-459

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FINANCIAL SUPPORTERS (continued)

[redacted]  
[redacted]  
and became known as the [redacted] President  
of this was shown as [redacted] - President. Secretary was [redacted]  
[redacted] The director of the company is listed as  
[redacted] No mention is made of [redacted] in connection  
with this company. The records reflect that in [redacted]  
[redacted] was sold to [redacted] and [redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted]

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[redacted] advised  
June 12, 1967, that it is his understanding on good authority,  
[redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted] He also  
advised that [redacted] has put up money behind [redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted]

BUSINESS DEALINGS

(u)(x) SF T-12 advised on November 12, 1966, that STANLEY  
LEVISON, and [redacted] were in conference on that date  
and they discussed a time when the two could discuss in greater  
detail [redacted] willingness to set up a business for the Southern  
Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). (u)

(u)(x) SF T-2 stated on October 29, 1966, that at that  
time MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., President of the SCLC, had stated  
to LEVISON that [redacted] whom he described as a multi-  
millionaire, had told him that he was in favor of organizing a  
new company which would be half owned by the SCLC. It was suggested  
by [redacted] that this might be a retail record and stereo tape mar-  
keting company.

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SF 157-459

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FINANCIAL SUPPORTERS (continued) [redacted]

SF T-13 advised in April 1964, that STANLEY LEVISON was a secret member of the Communist Party, USA. (CP,USA) in July 1963. [In late 1963, and early 1964, he criticized the CP for not being sufficiently militant in the civil rights struggle. LEVISON is described by certain CP leaders as being to the "left" of the CP in his position on civil rights. His difficulties with the CP, however, are merely tactical and he continues his ideological adherence to Communism.] (S)u

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SF T-14 advised October 30, 1958, that [redacted]  
[redacted] of the Connecticut  
Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy [redacted]  
[redacted] (S)u

The "Hartford Times," a daily evening newspaper published in Hartford, Connecticut, in its issue of January 31, 1961, reflected that one RICHARD A. RUSSELL was elected treasurer of the newly formed Central Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy in Connecticut.

The article reflected that the group is devoted to the "cessation of all nuclear weapons testing with adequate inspection and to general multi-lateral disarmament."

u (S) SF T-15 advised August 24, 1965, that [redacted]  
[redacted] providing financial support  
to the North End Community Action Project (NECAP)  
[redacted]

Captain [redacted] Hartford Police Department, advised August 18, 1965, that NECAP is a militant civil rights group in Hartford, Connecticut, composed of Negroes and whites.

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SF 157-459

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FINANCIAL SUPPORTERS (continued) [redacted]

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On April 28, 1967, records of the Division of Corporations, Office of the Secretary of State, State House, Boston, Massachusetts, were reviewed and reflect that [redacted] was incorporated under the laws of Massachusetts [redacted] and it is located at [redacted]

On [redacted] the incorporation's name was changed to [redacted] Its officers are President and Treasurer [redacted] Directors include [redacted]

Credit Bureau of Greater Boston, Incorporated, 6 St. James Street, records were checked May 8, 1967, and reflect that [redacted] resides in [redacted] and is listed as the [redacted]

On January 19, 1967, (X) u SF T-16 advised that when [redacted] first came to [redacted] he used the name [redacted] and that [redacted] located in Boston, Massachusetts, known as [redacted] He also [redacted] in which [redacted]

u (X) SF T-16 stated that [redacted] made a loan to Ramparts Magazine in California and is supposed to influence the policy of this magazine.

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SF 157-459

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FINANCIAL SUPPORTERS (continued)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

(S)U

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] currently resides at

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] is known to

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

On April 28, 1967, records of the Division of Corporations, Office of the Secretary of State, State House, Boston, Massachusetts, were reviewed. These records showed that

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Its officers were as

follows:

President and Treasurer

[REDACTED]

Vice President

[REDACTED]

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SF 157-459

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FINANCIAL SUPPORTERS (continued)

Clerk

The following are listed as directors of the corporation:

On May 8, 1967, records of the Credit Bureau of Greater Boston, Incorporated, 6 St. James Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts, were checked by personnel of that bureau and a record was found for [redacted] wife [redacted] residing at [redacted]. His employment was shown as [redacted]. The only information on the credit record is that an inquiry was made by [redacted] credit rating is shown as satisfactory.

On April 26, 1967, SF T-17 <sup>(X) u</sup> advised that he has heard rumors that [redacted]

u (X) SF T-17 stated that [redacted] which is [redacted] and located at the same address. [redacted]

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FINANCIAL SUPPORTERS (continued)  
Concerning Lincoln Web Offset Company and MARC STONE (\$35,000)

On June 23, 1967, [redacted] Nassau Clearing House Association, Incorporated, 450 North Main Street, Freeport, New York, advised Special Agent [redacted] that he had no record of the names of the principals of the Lincoln Web Offset Company, which is located at 200 Finn Court, Farmingdale, New York, but stated the Company was granted a loan on December 9, 1966, for \$2,649.50. b6 b7C b7D

On June 23, 1967, SF T-7, (X)u advised Special Agent [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

On June 30, 1950, LOUIS F. BUDENZ, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that MARC STONE was the brother of I.F. STONE, who was a Communist. BUDENZ stated that MARC STONE at that time was Advertising Manager of the New York "Daily Compass." According to BUDENZ, STONE reported constantly to officials of the "Daily Worker" while he was Business Manager of the Federated Press during May 1950, and consulted an official of the "Daily Worker" as to how he could best escape military service since he considered that as a Communist, he could do more in the publication field. BUDENZ stated that STONE did subsequently go into military service.

u(X)[SF T-9], who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised during 1952, that the editorial and reportorial

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SF 157-459  
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staff of the "Daily Compass" was composed in the majority of Communists and Communist sympathizers. This source further advised that the rewrite men gave news a pro-Soviet slant, and there was a constant trading of news with the "Daily Worker."

The "Daily Worker" was an east coast Communist newspaper which suspended publication on January 13, 1958.

The June 1967 issue of Ramparts listed MARC  
STONE as a Director of Ramparts.

*MARC STONE*

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SF 157-459  
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FINANCIAL SUPPORTERS (continued) (Loan Prospect)  
SIMON MORRIS LAZARUS

The files of the Passport Office, U.S. Department of State, checked on July 25, 1966, reflected that on September 11, 1962, at Los Angeles, California, SIMON M. LAZARUS was issued passport No. C682065, for the purpose of a threemonth trip to South America and the Orient for the purpose of business and pleasure. He listed his permanent address as 316 Conway Avenue, Los Angeles, and his occupation as investments and real estate.

He stated that he was born on April 19, 1884 in Russia. He immigrated to the U.S. in January 1914, and was naturalized on May 5, 1924, in the U.S. District Court in New York and received Certificate of Naturalization No. 1946733.

*LAZARUS*  
He stated that he was married on April 7, 1920, to MINA MOHI, who was born on December 28, 1898 in Russia. He stated that his wife was a U.S. citizen.

*MRS. Simon MORRIS LAZARUS*

On March 26, 1953, LAZARUS testified before the House Committee on un-American activities at a public session in Los Angeles, California. He stated that he was Director and President of Independent Productions Corporation (IPC) (see appendix), which corporation produced the picture "Salt of the Earth" from its inception until March 19, 1953. He stated that this corporation borrowed \$90,000.00 for the production of the above mentioned picture. LAZARUS refused to mention names of the officers and directors of IPC; refused to answer questions of whether or not any money or anything of value directly or indirectly had been received from the Communist Party (CP) to finance the picture "Salt of the Earth"; and refused to mention any names whatsoever before the committee. He also refused to say whether he was ever a member of the CP.

SF T-10 advised on August 28, 1961, that LAZARUS has a life time-subscription to the "Peoples World" (PW). *(X) u*

As of October 1965, *(X) u* SF T-11 advised that LAZARUS had pledged a \$600.00 contribution to the PW.

The "PW" is a West Coast communist newspaper which is published weekly in San Francisco.

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SF 157-459  
EJO:mcn

FINANCIAL SUPPORTERS (continued)  
S. L. C. DISTRIBUTORS, INC. (\$62,500)  
SUGAR-LO COMPANY  
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY

The 1966 city directory for Atlantic City, New Jersey, reveals that ~~Sugar-Lo Company~~, Dietetic Ice Cream, 2001 Bacharach Boulevard, is [REDACTED]

On October 26, 1967, [REDACTED] Credit Rating Service, Incorporated, 1616 Pacific Avenue, Atlantic City, New Jersey, made available to Special Agent [REDACTED] the following credit information:

X S. L. C. Distributors, Incorporated, doing business as ~~Sugar-Lo~~ Company, Incorporated, 2001 Bacharach Boulevard, Atlantic City, New Jersey, was incorporated under New Jersey law on December 31, 1964. This company was capitalized for 2,000 no par shares with three shares paid in for the purpose of doing business as a commission merchants, etc. Incorporators are:

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ALAN KLIGERMAN

[Redacted]

SIGMUND RIMM

[Redacted]

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MAE LE VAN

[Redacted]

The agent for this company is recorded as ALAN  
KLIGERMAN.

A credit report dated November 1, 1960, on [Redacted]  
[Redacted] and wife, [Redacted] nee [Redacted]  
[Redacted] shows him as age [Redacted] white,  
and married with wife dependant. [Redacted] had been at the  
above mentioned address since [Redacted] and prior to this at [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted] was, in [Redacted] doing  
business as [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted] Prior to this, [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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This report reveals that [redacted] bear a satisfactory personal reputation and nothing detrimental was learned concerning their character or habits.

A credit report on [redacted] dated July 11, 1963, shows [redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted] A notation on this report dated January 25, 1966, shows him to be residing at [redacted] Atlantic City, New Jersey.

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Files of the credit Rating Service, Incorporated, Atlantic City, New Jersey, also revealed that [redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted]

The 1966 city directory for Atlantic City reveals that [redacted] and wife, [redacted], reside at [redacted]  
[redacted] His occupation is given as [redacted]  
[redacted] Atlantic City, New Jersey. This directory also shows that [redacted] and husband [redacted] reside at [redacted]  
[redacted] New Jersey. His occupation is given as [redacted]  
[redacted] Atlantic City, New Jersey.

On November 2, 1967, while interviewing [redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted] of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), concerning the current racial situation in Atlantic City, casual inquiry was made of him by Special Agent [redacted] concerning the nature of Ramparts Magazine, a copy of which he referred to as a "liberal-critical type publication" commenting that he is

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SF 157-459  
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very much in sympathy with its views. He said that the magazine carries some commercial advertisements, but in the main gets its financial support strictly from its subscription rate. He added that Ramparts is directed toward the urban intelligentsia and consequently he has never placed any commercial advertisements in the magazine. [redacted] made no effort to volunteer information concerning the transfer of funds by his company to Ramparts and no leading questions were asked of him in this regard. b6 b7C

[redacted] made available a copy of an open letter captioned "Stop the war, Mr. President" which contains signatures of over 300 business executives who oppose the war in Vietnam [redacted] [redacted] Sugar-Lo Company, Atlantic City, New Jersey," appears on this open letter.

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SF 157-459  
EJO:mcn

FINANCIAL SUPPORTERS (continued)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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*Supporter*  
[SF T-18 on 12/8/67] (S)u

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SF 157-459  
EJO:mcn

FINANCIAL SUPPORTERS (continued)

[redacted] also known as [redacted]

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[redacted]

u(X) [SF T- 19 on 1/12/68]

[redacted] was a subscriber to the "PW" 1965  
through 1968 and was receiving this publication at [redacted]  
[redacted] in October 1967 (X)u

[SF T-20 on 10/11/67] (X)u

MR & MRS.

The records of the Credit Bureau of the Greater East  
Bay in a report dated September 27, 1967, one [redacted]

reported that he is [redacted]

[redacted] and that [redacted] formerly from  
New York.

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SF 157-459  
EJO:mcn

FINANCIAL SUPPORTERS (continued)

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[REDACTED]

7 (X) u

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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SF 157-459  
EJO:mcn

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FINANCIAL SUPPORTERS (continued)  
ABBEY A. ROCKEFELLER (\$15,000)

[REDACTED]

[SF T-6 on 1/2/68] (S)u

Volume No. 34, the 1966-67 edition on "Who Who in America" page 1800 lists an ABBY GREENE (ALDRICH) ROCKEFELLER, mother of DAVID ROCKEFELLER, JOHN DAVISON ROCKEFELLER, 3rd, LAURANCE S. ROCKEFELLER, NELSON ALDRICH ROCKEFELLER, and WINTHROP ROCKEFELLER.

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SF 157-459  
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FINANCIAL SUPPORTERS (continued)

[redacted]  
The student directories of the University of California, Berkeley (UCB) listed [redacted] as a graduate student [redacted] 1961-62, 1962-63, and 1963-64. The student directories for 1964-65 and 1965-66, listed [redacted] as a graduate student [redacted]. The directory for the current school year contains no listing of [redacted] AKA [redacted]

[redacted] UCB, made available to Investigative Clerk [redacted] on June 5, 1967, information that [redacted] date of birth [redacted] Social Security Number [redacted] last residence [redacted] had been employed by the University while attending graduate school. His next of kin was listed as [redacted] [redacted] worked first as a [redacted] then as [redacted] and finally as [redacted] [redacted] the last job being from September 1964 to January 31, 1966. On the latter date, he resigned in order to devote time to research for his dissertation.

[redacted] UCB, advised Investigative Clerk [redacted] June 7, 1967, that [redacted] entered UCB as a [redacted] in September 1960 [redacted] was previously awarded his BA degree at [redacted] in 1955. [redacted] He was born [redacted] [redacted]

Records of the San Francisco Police Department were checked on May 23, 1967, by Investigative Clerk [redacted] concerning [redacted] with negative results. Records of the Oakland Police Department were checked by Investigative Clerk [redacted] on May 23, 1967, concerning [redacted] with negative results.

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SF 157-459  
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Records of the San Francisco Retail Credit Association, San Francisco, California, were checked by Special Employee [redacted] May 24, 1967, and a satisfactory record was located for [redacted] and his wife, [redacted] who were then living at [redacted] in December 1960. At that time, [redacted]

[redacted] California. [redacted] was listed as [redacted] The records also

reflect that a credit check was made for [redacted] in November 1962, while they were living at [redacted] at which time he was listed as a graduate student at UCB [redacted]

[redacted] The record also showed a previous address at [redacted]

Records of the Credit Bureau of the Greater East Bay, Oakland, California, were checked on May 23, 1967, by Investigative Clerk [redacted] and it was determined that [redacted] and his wife [redacted] had an excellent credit rating. The record showed they resided at [redacted] prior to 1960. [redacted] in October 1960. [redacted] in September 1961, and [redacted]

The credit bureau forwarded a summary of the credit record to the credit bureau, P.O. Box 725, Lawrence, Kansas on June 30, 1966. This record reflects [redacted] was born [redacted] was born [redacted]

On August 3, 1967, [redacted] Erie Credit Bureau, 1021 State Street, Erie, Pennsylvania, advised Special Agent [redacted] that his records reflect that [redacted] and his wife [redacted]

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SF 157-459  
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record. The records reflect that their recorded address, as of October 1960, was [redacted] [redacted] had previously resided at [redacted] [redacted] date not shown. The records also indicated that he had served in the U.S. Navy in 1955. He reportedly was graduated from the University of California at Berkeley. His name has been on file since February 1955 and credit was last cleared in May 1958. As of 1958, he was employed with [redacted]

[redacted]  
[redacted]  
Credit records also reflect that [redacted] and his second wife, [redacted] have an [redacted] [redacted] and resided at [redacted] [redacted] He is [redacted]

[redacted] His name has been in file since June 1933 and credit was last cleared in April 1962. As of 1962, he was residing at [redacted]

On August 3, 1967, [redacted] [redacted] advised that [redacted] known as [redacted] when formerly employed for a short time [redacted]

The July 29, 1967, issue of the Berkeley Gazette, contained an article captioned "Ramparts Old Fashioned, Claims One

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SF 157-459  
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*Cal. S.*  
of its Editors" by TERRY ~~SELLARDS~~ which read in part as follows:

"Frederick Mitchell may be the only person who considers controversial Ramparts Magazine 'old-fashioned.'

"The former Berkeley graduate student contends that the magazine is 'in a sense' old-fashioned because it is ultramoralistic.

"The publication is viewed differently by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), whose foundations were shaken the past year by Rampart's revelations of subsidies to student and professional organizations. It is viewed differently, too, by the so-called political establishment in this country, often the butt of Ramparts exposes.

"Mitchell's assessment of the publication is that it tends to see thing 'in black and white' without giving in to what he calls 'the agonizing error' in journalism: the idea that things are far too complex for publications to take absolute positions and that most people in government are men of good faith attempting to do what is right in the midst of complicated contradictions.

"A graduate of Yale, the 33-year-old Mitchell looks and acts every bit the young Ivy League gentleman, his Berkeley stint notwithstanding.

"His scholarly demeanor and analytical academic mind seem a strange contradiction to his recent decision to leave an assistant professorship at the University of Kansas and join Pamparts as an editor and an earlier decision to sink \$200,000 into Ramparts.

"The money for the investment came from an inheritance he received while a graduate student in Berkeley. His decision to invest it in a magazine then losing money on a grand scale must rank as one of the rare moments in the history of free enterprise.

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"It was a gesture of faith for Mitchell, who will join the magazine's San Francisco staff in August at the conclusion of his teaching stint at KU.

"I received the inheritance and I was looking around for a place to invest some of it," Mitchell explains. 'A friend of mine told me Ramparts was looking for more investors. I had no idea whether I was interested or not, but after listening to Warren Hinckle (editor) talk about his plans for the magazine, I was convinced.'

"I believed in what he was saying and what he wanted to do. I felt safe in investing my money with him. It's as simple as that. Also, I wanted to help.'

'As Mitchell sees it, Ramparts, under Hinckle's leadership, is attempting to 'get through the big lie' -- the hypocrisy of big government which in its impersonalized, expedient way can neutralize morality and hold itself not accountable to the public for its action.

"Mitchell believes Ramparts has returned to the best traditions of journalism.

"Ramparts insists on public accountability on the part of government,' Mitchell said. 'And, they expect honesty from public officials.

"Ramparts is suspicious of the military establishment.

"This suspicion is in the best traditions of the conservatism. When is the last time you believed a press statement from the Pentagon? It's not that everything that comes from there is a lie. It's that they have covered up so many things in the past that no one knows what is credible and what isn't.'

"Another traditional stand taken by Ramparts is its opposition to the growing impersonality of big government, Mitchell said.'

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"He explained that Ramparts is not against big government because it is big, but because it is impersonal--because it has computerized individuals into a great nameless numbered mass called the public.

"The most compelling factor about the magazine to Mitchell is its independence.

"'It (Ramparts) views itself as outside the establishment,' Mitchell said. 'It has no particular political ties and is not interested in doctrinal issues.'"

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SF 157-459  
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FINANCIAL SUPPORTERS (continued)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Referral/Consult

[SF T-22 on 9/49] (S) (X) u

[REDACTED] has  
donated money to Communist causes in the past. (S) u

[SF T-23 on 7/7/67] (S) (X) u

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[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

[SF T-24 on 6/8/67] (S) (X) u

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SF 157-459  
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FINANCIAL SUPPORTERS (continued)  
DANIEL J. BERNSTEIN (\$15,000)

On June 27, 1967, [SF T-17, (X)U] who is in a position to furnish reliable information, furnished Special Agent [ ] the following credit information concerning D.J. BERNSTEIN & Company; DANIEL J. BERNSTEIN, Owner, 391 Fort Hill Road, P.O. Box 657, Scarsdale, New York. (X)U B approx 1918

Payments

Daniel (Justin) BERNSTEIN

Principle transactions are in securities, governed by relations of Securities & Exchange Commission and Federal Reserve Board. Incidentals are usually purchased locally. (u)

Finance

On January 31, 1967, Mr. DANIEL J. BERNSTEIN declined statement. Figures taken from the financial questionnaire as of August 31, 1961, and filed with Securities & Exchange Commission on October 12, 1961, indicated a net worth of approximately \$1,900,000 and a generally good condition. (u)

History

Business started by present owner during 1956 (X)U DANIEL BERNSTEIN, married, born 1918. 1941-1946, served United States Armed Forces. 1946 - 1956, Vice President of North American Realty Corporation, securities holding company, New York City. 1956, established subject business. (u) Daniel

Operation

Stock brokers and dealers, holding memberships on the New York Stock Exchange. Also member N.A.S.D. Clearances made through Chemical New York Trust and New York Stock Clearing Corporation. Owner active. Two employed. Location: Occupies one floor converted dwelling in residential area. Building well maintained. (u)

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SF 157-459

EJO:mcn

*MRS. (X)u 391 FORT Hill Road  
PO Box 657 SCAR - date 11.7*

On October 24, 1962, SF T-25, advised that he had been acquainted with DANIEL (JUSTIN) BERNSTEIN and his wife, [redacted] for several years in that they have mutual friends on a social level. This source stated that DANIEL BERNSTEIN has a business which he operates from his house, and described the business as a securities investment and speculation operation. The source advised that DANIEL BERNSTEIN is independently wealthy as a result of a large inheritance. The source described the BERNSTEINS as people who are preoccupied with being champions of causes concerning pacificism. The BERNSTEINS, according to the source, belong to numerous peace groups, ban the bomb clubs and organizations involved with African nations. The source stated the BERNSTEINS make their home available to African students and United Nations personnel representing African nations. The source advised that [redacted] had told him that [redacted] had confided to her that she and her husband, DANIEL, financially supported the Committee For Sane Nuclear Policy and several peace groups, including Women Strike For Peace. Source stated [redacted] had attended several parties and social functions at the BERNSTEINS house during all of which criticizing comments were made by those attending, concerning the American foreign policy, imperialism and capitalistic society. *(X)u*

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~~WOMEN FOR PEACE~~ aka  
~~Women Strike for Peace~~

WASH. DC.

The "Berkeley Daily Gazette," a daily newspaper of general circulation published in Berkeley, California, contained an article in the November 19, 1965, evening edition reflecting that in November, 1961, when concern mounted over radioactive fallout from nuclear testing, a group of women in Washington, D. C. started Women Strike for Peace. The idea spread rapidly throughout the country and now embraces 900 groups, including Women For Peace groups in the San Francisco Bay area.

These groups support programs to achieve goals such as:

- (1) Continued disarmament negotiations.
- (2) A strong and flexible United Nations.
- (3) Planning now at state and national levels for conversion to peace-time economy and positive efforts to ease world tensions.

The women act as individuals and as a group, with specific actions suggested by individuals and groups from all over the world. Decision to participate jointly on any given suggestion is democratically arrived at by members of the Coordinating Committee. Effective cooperation with other peace groups is encouraged. Monthly Coordinating Committee meetings and general meetings, as warranted, are open to all and announced in mailings to members. There are no dues or membership forms nor conditions for membership.

To stir an awareness of the need for peace, Women For Peace encourage public education in peace objectives at local schools and sponsor peace-oriented demonstrations and public meetings, newspaper ads, billboards, and candidates for public office. On the national level the group attempts to influence government officials by letters and conferences.

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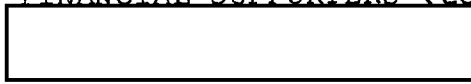
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FINANCIAL SUPPORTERS (continued)

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The December 1, 1967 issue of "Time", the national weekly magazine, on page 38, contained an article entitled "Ramparts Dropout" which further identifies ANNE and MARTIN PERETZ. The article stated in part as follows:

"Not all of the old hands are joining in 'Rampart' salutes these days. Conspicuously absent in Principal Stockholder and onetime Publisher Edward Keating, who was discovered 'plotting' against the magazine last spring, as his detractors put it. The latest dropout is another major stockholder, Martin Peretz, a Harvard lecturer in government who has contributed substantially to the magazine as well as to other New Left causes. He is also married to Anne Farnsworth, a Singer Sewing Machine heiress.

"What bothers Peretz, he says, in 'Commentary' magazine is 'Rampart's' anti-Jewish attitude toward the Arab-Israeli war. Editor Hinckle, say Peretz, likes to be 'flippy' --- that is, perverse in a flip, hippie sort of way. This translated into articles like the one Peretz calls 'the most carefully selective and skewed history of the conflict to come from any source save possibly the propaganda machines of the respective parties.' The article 'occasionally takes note of Nasser's calculating politics,' says Peretz, but 'settles the burden of the tragic events squarely on Israel.' All of this fits what Peretz says has become the New Left's

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FINANCIAL SUPPORTERS (continued)

[REDACTED]

Middle East dogma: that Israel and Israel alone must bear the blame for the responsibility for the future. Not, it should be clear, only for the plight of the Arab refugees, but for the behavior of the Arab regimes as well, and even (how powerful little Israel must have become!) for the policy of the Soviet Union, its sycophants (at least when Jews are in question), and virtually the entire Third World."

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] SE T-26 on 11/16/67 [REDACTED]

On July 30, 1964, Investigative Clerk [REDACTED] obtained the following passport record at the Passport Office, Department of State, Washington, D.C.: [REDACTED]

Name  
Passport

Date of Birth

Permanent Residence

Purpose of trip

Join family

Parents

born

born

born

born

[REDACTED]

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SF 157-459  
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[REDACTED]  
Last Married On: [REDACTED]

born at [REDACTED]

"Who's Who in America", 1966-1967, Volume 34, page 1201 reflects HENRY RICHARDSON LABOUISSSE as father of ANNE *Born 2/11/05* LABOUISSSE FARNSWORTH. HENRY RICHARDSON LABOUISSSE was U.S. *at New Orleans* Ambassador to Greece from 1962 - 1965, and Executive Director, United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, 1965. *Louisiana* His home is listed as 2429 Kalorama Road, NW, Washington, DC, and his office as United Nations Headquarters, New York City.

The 1966-1967 Harvard University Directory of Officers and Students lists [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

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SF 157-459  
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FINANCIAL SUPPORTERS (continued)

[REDACTED]

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On December 13, 1967, SF T-29, advised Special Agent GORDON B. PLAYMAN that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Source was of the opinion [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Source was also of the opinion [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Source stated that he was only conjecturing in this matter and that he had no specific information. (X) u

Source subsequently advised on the same date that the Communist Party (CP) in Santa Barbara had no information concerning large sums in the possession of [REDACTED] (X) u

u (X) E On December 12, 1967, SF T-30, [REDACTED] advised that information concerning [REDACTED] could not be made available without proper subpoena. He stated that he would check with [REDACTED] however, and determine whether or not any information could be provided without subpoena. He stated that he desired to help the FBI if at all possible.

u (X) E On December 20, 1967, SF T-30 [REDACTED] advised that he could only furnish general information concerning [REDACTED] He declined to furnish [REDACTED] He also declined to furnish any information which would indicate [REDACTED]

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FINANCIAL SUPPORTERS (continued)

[REDACTED]

He declined to comment on [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

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SF 157-459

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FINANCIAL SUPPORTERS (continued)  
LOUIS M. RABINOWITZ FOUNDATION, INC.  
VICTOR RABINOWITZ (\$15,000)

VICTOR RABINOWITZ, attorney, was listed along with LEONARD B. BOUDIN, attorney, at 25 Broad Street, New York, New York, in 1962 Manhattan Telephone Directory as subscribers to DI 4-5564. *u*

LEONARD B. BOUDIN during the early 1940's was a concealed member of the CP and actively associated with CP front organizations. *u*

LOUIS BUDENZ on  
6/21/50

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[ SF T-27 on 1/9/62 ] *(X) u*

VICTOR PERLO, economist and columnist for The Worker and the People's World Communist Party newspaper, on November 2, 1961, stated that he would like to prepare an economic survey of Puerto Rico and had contacted ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG, CP functionary, to determine if funds were available for such a survey. TRACHTENBERG *(X) u*

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3 told PERLO that the RABINOWITZ family had a fund  
for such a purpose and that GUS HALL, General  
Secretary, CP, USA, had the key to it. TRACHTENBERG  
felt that if HALL was interested in the project  
7 funds could be obtained.

~~[S]~~ u

[SF T-28 on 11/2/61]

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#### D. GENERAL ACTIVITIES

##### Publication of a Weekly Newspaper

The June 8, 1967 issue of the "San Francisco Chronicle" contained an article captioned "The Death of a Local Gadfly" which read in its entirety as follows:

"The Sunday Ramparts, a cheeky little weekly which came out twice a month, and never on Sunday, died yesterday.

"Its final appearance was in a limited edition of four pages that were blank except for its own obituary:

"Ramparts, The Sunday - in this city, June 7, 1967. Beloved child of Ramparts magazine. Friends may call after 5 p.m. at Andre's Bistro, Broadway and Montgomery streets. Wake and interment following."

##### HAZE

"The eccentric and impious little periodical died as it had been born, in an alcoholic haze. It died as it had lived, in debt.

"The announcement of its passing was made at a press conference by the magazine's 28-year-old editor, Warren Hinckle III, who last month wrenched control of the Ramparts magazine from Edward M. Keating.

"The Sunday Ramparts came into being eight months ago 'as a kind of joke,' Hinckle said. 'We were drunk at Enrico's and we said, 'We'll put out a newspaper, by God.'"

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SF 157-459  
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GENERAL ACTIVITIES (continued)

MONEY

"He reported the newspaper picked up more than 25,000 buyers, so as the months went by Ramparts put about \$35,000 into it. But to keep it going, and maybe in the black, he said, the staff would have had to be tripled.

"The big push now, he told reporters, is to keep Ramparts magazine going. He reported that this muckraking magazine to date has lost about \$1.5 million, but has increased its circulation to 250,000.

"Ramparts will be making money in about six months," he predicted."

Draft Card Burning by Ramparts Editors

The November 16, 1967 issue of the "San Francisco Examiner" contained an article captioned "Ramparts Editors Burn Draft Cards which read in its entirety as follows: u

"The cover of the December issue of Ramparts magazine has a color picture of four draft cards burning and publisher Marc Stone says the cards belonged to the magazine's four top editors. w

"In a column titled 'Apologia' on Page 2, an article begins: 'If you're looking for an editorial in the usual place this month, forget it. It's on the cover.' u

"Stone said the burning draft cards belonged to Warren Hinckle III, 29, editor; Dugald Stermer, 31, art director; Robert Scheer, 31, managing editor, and Sol Stern, 32, assistant managing editor. w

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GENERAL ACTIVITIES (continued)

"The publisher confirmed that Hinckle is blind in the left eye.

"Asked if he is eligible for the draft, Hinckle told a newsman: 'Every one of us is eligible for the draft. I have a 1-A classification.'"

"Hinckle said the magazine cover is 'a very serious editorial statement,' and he added:

"There is a very serious political crisis in this country and we want to show that the bureaucracy of the Selective Service System is unfair."

*Dugald STERN*  
Selective Service Registration Certificate for SOL STERN; Selective Service System Notice of Classification for DUGALD ROBERT STERN; Duplicate Selective Service Registration Certificate dated December 5, 1958, for ROBERT SCHEER, and Selective Service Notice of Classification for WARREN JAMES HINCKLE displayed on cover of December, 1967 issue of Ramparts magazine. On cover, cards were displayed by four right hands, and part of arm of individuals reported to be models. Edges of cards were seared and in most instances the Registrant's signature was completely burned away. Flames in background gave the impression the cards were aflame, however, there were seared areas on the cards where there was no flame in the background. STERN, age 32, registered with Local Draft Board 29, Bronx, New York, classified 1-Y on February 16, 1967. STERN, age 30, registered with Local Draft Board 95, Los Angeles, is married and the father of three children, classified 3-A on March 17, 1960. SCHEER, age 31, registered with Local Draft Board 29, Bronx, New York, was classified 1-A on April 25, 1962, and is eligible for 3-A classification. Will not be called for induction. HINCKLE, age 29, registered with Local Draft Board 40, San Francisco. In 1960, was classified 1-A, on September 29, 1961, was given a physical and classified 4-F on November 16, 1961, because has an artificial right eye. Selective Service card "in-process" burning for HINCKLE showed 1-A classification.

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## II OFFICERS & EMPLOYEES

The February 1968 issue of Ramparts listed the following officers and staff:

"Editor  
WARREN HINCKLE III

"Art Director  
DUGALD STERMER

"Managing Editor  
ROBERT SCHEER

"Assistant Managing Editor  
SOL STERN

"Senior Editors  
GENE MARINE, FREDERICK C. MITCHELL,  
WILLIAM TURNER, DAVID WELSH

"Associate Editors  
MAXWELL GEISMAR, DAVID HOROWITZ,  
STANLEY K. SHEINBAUM

"Consulting Editors  
NOAM CHOMSKY, HOWARD GOSSAGE,  
CONOR CRUISE, BOB PTEN, CARL OGLESBY

"Copy Editor  
LESLIE TIMAN

"Military Editor  
DON DUNCAN

"Staff Writers  
MIKE ANSARA, BOB AVAKIAN, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER,  
PETER COLLIER, MARIANNE HINCKLE, ADAM HOCHSCHILD,  
DAVID KOLODNEY, STEPHEN SCHNECK, JOHN SPITZER,  
JUDY STONE.

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OFFICERS & EMPLOYEES (continued)

"Advertising/Production Director  
JOHN WILLIAMS

"Contributing Editors

G.M. FEIGEN, Travel; PAUL KRASSNER,  
Society; JEAN LACOUTURE, Southeast Asia;  
SANDRA LEVINSON, JUDY FEIFFER, New York;  
THOMAS BRANSTEN, Paris; MARCUS RASKIN,  
Washington; JESSICA MITTFORD, Oakland;  
MONIQUE MAURER, Munich; HERBERT GOLD,  
PAUL JACOBS, San Francisco; LESLIE FIEDLER,  
Buffalo; HUNTER S. THOMPSON, Aspen; SONIA  
\* ORWELL, London; STAN FREBERG, Extra Pages;  
HAROLD LIPSET, Criminology; MAURICE ZEITLIN,  
JOHN GERASSI, Latin America.

"Editorial Assistants

JANIS CHAN, KATHERINE FLEGAL, PAUL GILLILAND,  
KAREN KAHN, DEBORAH SAMPSON, VAMPIRA, ANNA  
\* WILLIS-BETTS

"Assistant to the Editor  
MAUREEN STOCK

"Administration

WARREN HINCKLE III (General Manager),  
ROBERT KALDENBACH (Controller,  
BERT GARMISE (Circulation Consultant),  
MARC STONE (East Coast Manager),  
G.M. FEIGEN (Generalist),  
ROY TIGNER (Assistant Controller),  
TUCK WEILLS (Circulation Manager),  
GORDON FINLEY (Eastern Advertising Manager),  
NANCY TIBBON (Western Advertising Manager)"

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### III. STATED AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The September 10, 1967 issue of the "Denver Post", Denver, Colorado contained an article in its home edition by EARL SHORRIS based upon an interview of the Ramparts staff which read in part as follows:

"Nine months later, the first issue of Ramparts was published. A statement of editorial policy appeared on page 3: 'Ramparts presents creative works which, besides possessing literary excellence, possess the Christian vision of man, his world, his God.'

"Ramparts demands no special slanting of thought ..."

"Ramparts, the former Catholic literary magazine, very possibly means everything it says, but it frequently is unable to say what it means.

"There is some craftsmanship involved in constructing a paradoxical sentence, like this one in a Ramparts book review:

"The author has constructed a rationale contending that the freedom of women consists of freedom from domesticity, subjugation to men and opportunity to work in the world of men upon equal terms."

"The magazine has taken a strong position against the war in Vietnam. Articles have been published in Ramparts that other magazines would not touch. Its exposure of the clumsiness of American actions in the war in South Vietnam justifies the existence of the magazine. Occasionally, however, it is a victim of its own hysterical self-righteousness.

"Robert Scheer, writing in the December 1965 issue, tells us, 'The United States has made the decision to use whatever firepower it takes to win in Vietnam.' He does not say who told

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~~SECRET~~STATED AIMS AND OBJECTIVES (continued)

"him of this decision, which implies the possible use of nuclear weapons. A few paragraphs later, in the same article, he writes, 'The admiral suggested that if civilians chose to live in areas controlled by the Viet Cong, then they became the enemy.' Suggested? The implications of the statement are staggering when one considers that the greater part of South Vietnam is supposedly controlled by the Viet Cong.

"The July 1967 Ramparts claimed the Pentagon has contingency plans to invade Laos and North Vietnam, and the magazine listed its sources as 'two sober young men of the international voluntary service and a much too sober brunette with a pouting mouth' at a Vientiane party.

"EDWARD M. KEETING himself led the hysteria. Speaking about Ramparts, he said, 'Muckraking is too gentle a word to use. I prefer such things as hell-raising, blistering. It's sort of reflected in my own lectures. I no longer call them lectures; I call them harangues. When I call for the impeachment of the president of the United States, I'm not beating around the bush.'

"The editors of Ramparts are confident of their own virtue, so confident they are able to dispense with objectivity. 'We're as subjective as time,' said Keating, 'but we're at least consistent.' Editor Hinckle said, 'I don't believe in this 'on-the-other-hand' stuff. People write in and ask us to print the other side. We tell them no, we're not a debating society. We're not reasonable. Answers about Vietnam are reasonable, they're also insane.' Art director Dugald Stermer, part of the triumvirate (with Hinckle and Scheer) that runs the magazine, is upset by the suggestion

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STATED AIMS AND OBJECTIVES (continued)

'that the magazine might be objective. 'Some people say we don't tell people what to think,' he said. 'That's baloney, we do.'"

"Hinckle first made his mark as a journalist when he was the editor of his college newspaper, the University of San Francisco Foghorn. In a year, he changed the newspaper from a standard page size to a tabloid, ran it \$20,000 into debt, and dubbed it 'San Francisco's fourth daily' though it was published only three times a week. A faculty member recalled his career:

"He was a fantastic editor. He had all kinds of expense accounts."

'After graduating from USF, he went into the public-relations business, becoming a partner in the firm of Barth, Hughes, and Hinckle. In 1961, he ran for the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, basing his campaign on the ugliness of freeways and the poor location of Candlestick Park. He lost.

"Hinckle went back to journalism two years later, becoming a reporter on the San Francisco Chronicle, where he was often assigned to cover stories involving the Catholic Church. They described him then as 'a bit of a snob and politically conservative.'"

"While working at the Chronicle, Hinckle also worked at Ramparts. Keating had fired him after the first issue, but took him back six months later because he needed a promotion director and Warren, he said, 'had a genius for promotion.' It was Hinckle who urged Keating to turn the magazine into a monthly and lower the price from \$2 to 75 cents a copy. At that time, Hinckle took a leave of absence from the Chronicle to work full time at Ramparts.

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STATED AIMS AND OBJECTIVES (continued)

"RAMPARTS, the literary magazine, had 2,551 subscribers. It was a leisurely operation. The changeover (October 1964) issue was traumatic. The special issue was called 'Mississippi Eyewitness.' But racism in America couldn't do it for Ramparts. The world did not gasp when they daringly told how Negroes lived in slums and suffered from discrimination, disease and poverty, it wasn't exactly a scoop.

"They were looking for some social issue that would give them as much publicity in the national media as they had got with their defense of Hochmuth's 'The Deputy,' when Robert Scheer began to free-lance for them. Scheer - 'our resident intellectual,' according to Hinckle - had the cause: Vietnam. He also had the political sophistication the magazine was lacking. After graduate work in economics at Berkeley, he had become a member of the center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, which served as a kind of finishing school for him. The magazine sent him to Southeast Asia and he came back with the goods.

"From the time Scheer joined the staff, Ramparts has been crusading against the war in Vietnam. Their reports have made national news several times. There are many publications editorializing against the U.S. role in the Vietnam war, but Ramparts took its position early and stayed with it. While its effect on public attitudes cannot be measured, there is no doubt it has had some effect. To some it seems a gadfly to the public conscience.

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STATED AIMS AND OBJECTIVES (continued)

'In March 1965 Hinckle, executive editor, began listing himself as Warren Hinckle III; his name appears that way on the masthead now. Keating's money was gone by then: the magazine he had expected to cost \$10,000 a year had cost him \$800,000. 'The well ran dry,' he said. 'When that happens, you have got to get irrigation from another source.'

'Hinckle turned for help to Generalists, Inc., in May 1965. The consulting firm has two members: Dr. G.M. Feigen, a prominent San Francisco proctologist, and Howard Gossage of the advertising firm of Freeman and Gossage. The New York Times has called Gossage 'the Socrates of San Francisco,' he is the inventor of the Beethoven sweatshirt and once toured the country in the company of a kangaroo to promote an airline, which is where the resemblance to Socrates ends. Gossage is a handsome man, clean-shaven, well-shod and blessed with an abundance of almost white hair.

Gossage, who describes himself as 'a general expert' is less involved in the magazine than Dr. Feigen, whose interests include painting, sculpting, ventriloquism, psychiatry and the cultivation of one of the world's great mustaches. The need for firms such as Generalists, Inc., which is still on retainer to Ramparts, is explained by Dr. Feigen: 'When a man sees an architect, he always gets a building, but he may need a divorce.'

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STATED AIMS AND OBJECTIVES (continued)

~~X~~ Generalists, Inc., told Ramparts not to drop its connection with theology, and for a time it continued to proclaim itself a Catholic magazine; the official announcement of Ramparts' renunciation of the Catholic label appeared in July 1967 as part of a wry comment in Hinckle's 'Apologia' section. The Generalists also became involved in personnel and fund-raising problems. Gossage told them that advertising corrupts magazines that depend on it. He advised them not to worry about advertising at all until they reached 250,000 circulation and could charge enough for advertising space to offset the cost of selling it. Everyone agreed the magic number became 250,000.

"By the middle of the summer of 1965, the magazine was in dire financial shape. The pressure was beginning to tell on Keating. He was nervous, easily angered every issue was an emotional as well as a financial crisis. Hinckle was checking with the Chronicle to make sure they were still holding his job open. New people continued to be hired. Gossage brought Dugald Stermer, a designer, from Texas. Stermer's originality and visual wit suddenly gave the magazine style. Hinckle and the other editors were delighted. Hinckle, now says, 'The thing that makes Ramparts what it is is much more a presence of style than substance.'

'There was pressure from every area to change the structure of the magazine. Scheer summed it up: 'When we had a lot of money, confusion didn't hurt. When there was less money, we had to formalize it.' In the August 1965 issue, there were snapshots of the staff members with handwritten comments. Beside Keating's picture it said, 'The man next to the panic button is Ed Keating. He runs Ramparts. He hasn't pushed the button yet, but we're waiting.'

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STATED AIMS AND OBJECTIVES (continued)

'Sometime in early autumn the transfer of power occurred. Though Stermer, Keating and others recall the incident, none remembers the exact date. Perhaps it was as late as November. A major investor, Frederick C. Mitchell, had been located in Berkeley. He was willing to put \$100,000 (and eventually much more) into the magazine, with strings. His investment counselors wanted stock for the money, and the men who interested him in the magazine wanted him to demand that control of it be given to Hinckle. The stock was no problem, and neither was Keating. He was tired and beginning to get bored. The magazine had become 'a big pain in the neck' to him. Politics was more interesting. Since the 1964 elections, he had been thinking about running for Congress. He finally decided to enter the Democratic primary, and Hinckle began to run the magazine.

Robert Scheer also entered the primary, running against incumbent Jeffery ~~Y~~ Cohelan, a Johnson liberal. Both Keating and Scheer campaigned against the war in Vietnam. Both were able to get more than 40 per cent of the votes. Scheer said he is thinking about running for the U.S. Senate. The Community for New Politics is the cadre for his future campaign organization.

"Keating, who said after his defeat that he did not plan to run again for public office, is currently an announced candidate for the 11th Congressional District seat vacated by the death of J. Arthur Younger. His chief opponent may be Shirley ~~Y~~ Temple ~~Black~~.  
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STATED AIMS AND OBJECTIVES (continued)

"Last April Keating decided the magazine 'had no adequate financial program' and that something had to be done about it. Hinckle and the majority of the board of directors took an opposite view. According to Hinckle, Keating and the three Keating appointees who comprised the business staff were costing the magazine \$100,000 a year. The board met and Keating was voted out.

"Ramparts is born each month out of the tension that exists between Hinckle and Stermer, the stylists, and Scheer, Stern, consulting editor Paul Jacobs, Don Duncan and the others who think the content of the magazine is more important than the style. Hinckle doesn't want to publish any of that 'on-the-other-hand stuff', but Scheer was willing to print any word that Bernard Fall sent, because 'He was an honest guy, even though he and I didn't agree.'

"To alleviate the gloominess of the magazine, Hinckle hired Stan Freberg, the creator of several novel ad campaigns and best-selling records, to edit a humor section. Scheer, realizing that the magazine has never published an article dealing with economics, went East last winter to commission work on the subject. The work is apparently still in progress.

"Attitudes in Ramparts vary from month to month. After publishing Jessica Mitford's hatchet job on Ronald Reagan, the editors put together a California politics issue in which they called Reagan 'an intelligent, though naive, conservative.' Although the magazine took a 'vote no for governor' position, the focus of their attack was on former Gov. Pat Brown.

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STATED AIMS AND OBJECTIVES (continued)

'If Ramparts has a political position, it is not clear to its editor. 'There is nothing revolutionary in our positions,' said Hinckle. 'They aren't that different when you really analyze them from the nation or the New York Times.' He also said, 'Our greatest enemies are the liberals. In a sense we are part of the new left; it's basically a moral position, an immediate position without a program. We have too much faith in the people and too much disdain for the institutions to give up the idea of changing them and letting the pros take over.'

'The goals of the magazine differ, depending upon which of the principals is speaking. Scheer thinks it is 'an attempt to extend the dialog to points of view not published in the mass media.' Dr. Feigen relates his work on the magazine to healing.

Hinckle has yet another view: 'Ramparts has spoken with the style of intellectual and left-wing publications. We have the impudence to say that what we do can change things, and we're not afraid to be commercial. We're as slick and commercial as we can be about the whole thing. We insist on dealing with society on its own terms, which are crass and commercial.'

Ramparts has been crass and commercial. It has often been more exhortative than informative, but it has also produced some exciting reporting on Vietnam, the city of Oakland and conservation or the lack of it in America. The magazine joined every other publication in America in belaboring the Warren Report, but Sol Stern's uncloaking of the CIA was brilliant, effective reporting. If Ramparts may have overstated the number of children who have been casualties in Vietnam, it is a small criticism children have been burned and killed.

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STATED AIMS AND OBJECTIVES (continued)

// The financial problems that have plagued Ram-  
parts for most of its five years may be coming  
to an end. With 120,000 subscribers and as many  
newstand sales, the cost of printing has  
dropped to 11 3/4 cents a copy. The magazine  
is now grossing between \$10,000 and \$12,000 a  
month from advertising, although it has no  
formal program for solicitation. The April  
issue, the last one for which the accounting  
has been completed, was the first to show a  
net profit. Hinckle has slacked off on his  
fund-raising activities.

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~~SECRET~~APPENDIX1INDEPENDENT PRODUCTIONS CORPORATION (IPC)

According to the records of the Division of Corporations, Los Angeles County Clerk's Office, the Independent Productions Corporation is a California corporation formed September 18, 1951, for the purpose of producing and distributing motion pictures.

An informant advised on May 4, 1961, that the Independent Productions Corporation's first and only film to date has been the controversial film, "Salt of the Earth", and that the principal figures behind the film were MICHAEL WILSON, HERBERT BIBERMAN, and PAUL JAPRICO, who were, respectively, the writer, the director, and the co-producer of the film. All three of these individuals have been identified in sworn testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities as having been members of the Communist Party in Hollywood. The Independent Productions Corporation has not produced any films since "Salt of the Earth".

The IPC no longer maintains an office and has become completely inactive.

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INTERNATIONAL UNION OF STUDENTS

1. "The World Federation of Democratic Youth brought into being the International Union of Students, which held a meeting in Prague on August 17-31, 1946. The administration and direction of this project was entrusted to a 17-man executive committee, of whom 12 were known Communists." Also cited as one of the "long-established Soviet-controlled international organizations" which speak identical lines of propaganda and stand together on all phases of Soviet foreign policy and which has "affiliated organizations in the United States, which consequently have also been turned into instruments in the 'peace' campaign."

(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 271 on American Youth for Democracy, April 17, 1947, p. 13, and House Report 378 on the Communist "Peace" Offensive, April 25, 1951, originally released April 1, 1951, p. 77.)

2. Cited as being among "international Communist fronts \*\* functioning at the present time."

(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 93, also p. 59.)

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~~SECRET~~1~~SECRET~~W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

A source advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist -oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself. ~~(S)~~ u

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention. (u)

The second source advised in September, 1966, that MIKE ZAGARELL, CPUSA Youth Director, stated that in Negro communities the Party still supported the plan to build "left" socialist centers and to solidify the Party base through the DCA. This source also advised in September, 1966 that DANIEL RUBIN, CPUSA National Organizational Secretary, stated the Party believes the DCA should have a working-class outlook and be a mass organization favorable to socialism, socialist countries and Marxism, and in April, 1967, advised GUS HALL, CPUSA General Secretary, had indicated the DCA primary emphasis should be on developing mass resistance to the draft. ~~(S)~~ C. u

A third source advised in September, 1967, that JARVIS TYNER was elected chairman of the DCA on September 10, 1967, at the Third National Convention of the DCA held in New York, New York, from September 8-10, 1967. (u)

A fourth source advised during August, 1967, that JARVIS TYNER is a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA. (u)

A fifth source advised on September 21, 1967, that the headquarters of the DCA is located at 34 West 17th Street, New York, New York. (u)

APPENDIX~~SECRET~~B3<sup>x</sup>~~SECRET~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~SECRET~~

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

San Francisco, California

SF 157-459

February 16, 1968

Title            RAMPARTS MAGAZINE, INC.

Character       INTERNAL SECURITY - C  
                 REGISTRATION ACT

Reference       Report of SA EDWARD J. O'FLYNN  
                 dated and captioned as above at  
                 San Francisco, California

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

84

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-445393)

DATE: 2/19/68

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-70748) (P)

SUBJECT: "RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

IS-C;

REGISTRATION ACT

OO: San Francisco

Re Los Angeles letter to Bureau, dated 1/2/68.

Enclosed herewith for San Francisco:

One xerox copy of article captioned "The Commercial Thunder From the Left", printed in Los Angeles Times WEST Magazine, August 27, 1967. This article concerns Ramparts Magazine, and persons who have been associated with it.

One copy of channelizing memo of SA GILBERT G. BENJAMIN captioned "Southern California Conference to End the War in Vietnam, IS-C," dated 9/27/67, concerning a meeting held on 8/9/67, of the planning committee for the SCCEWV.

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b7C  
b7D

On 1/24/68, [redacted]

[redacted] advised that records available to him disclosed that [redacted]

On 1/25/68, [redacted] telephone number [redacted] advised [redacted]

2 - Bureau (RM)

2 - San Francisco (100-445393)

2 - Los Angeles

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/18/80 BY [redacted]

3 FEB 23 1968

EXC SEC.

70 MAR 1968  
ENC 100-1003  
(6)

LA 100-70748

On 2/2/68, [ ] advised that the names of the two men were [ ] and [ ] b6  
[ ] advised that he had no additional information. b7C  
He was requested to treat this inquiry confidentially. b7D

On the basis of information received from [ ]  
[ ] agency checks were made relative to [ ] and  
[ ] with the following results:

On 2/9/68, and 2/13/68, IC [ ] ascer-  
tained there was no identification record for [ ] and  
[ ] respectively at the Los Angeles Police Department.

On 2/9/68, IC [ ] ascertained  
there was no identification record for either person at the  
Los Angeles Sheriff's Office.

On 2/13/68, SE [ ] ascertained there was no  
information available regarding either person at the Los Angeles  
County Traffic Violations Bureau or at the City of Los Angeles  
Department of Water and Power. b6  
b7C

On 2/8/68, and 2/14/68, IC [ ]  
ascertained at the Registrar of Voter, Los Angeles County, Los  
Angeles, that records of currently registered voters did not  
include a registration for either [ ] or [ ]  
respectively.

On 2/9/68, IC [ ] ascertained that the  
Retail Merchants Credit Association of Los Angeles had no  
record of [ ] but did have a record since 1962 for one  
[ ] whose address in July 1962, was [ ]  
[ ] The credit report reflected that [ ]  
[ ]  
[ ]  
[ ]

[ ] The credit  
report reflected his employment as unknown.

LA 100-70748

Enclosures are being furnished San Francisco for information. In connection with the channelization memorandum, [redacted] on 9/19/67, advised the Los Angeles Office that the Southern California Conference to End the War in Vietnam, (SCCEWV) took place on 8/19/67, at Los Angeles State College, Los Angeles; that among resolutions passed was one calling for an immediate end to the war and the bringing home of the troops.

LA files contain report of SA EDWARD J. O'FLYNN dated 6/16/67, at San Francisco in case captioned Ramparts Magazine Inc., IS;C, Registration Act (OO:SF). That report reflects that the June 1967, issue of Ramparts magazine lists WARREN HINCKLE III as Editor and on the Board of Directors.

The article from WEST magazine, a copy of which is being enclosed for San Francisco refers to WARREN HINCKLE III as Editor of Ramparts. He is identified as 28 years of age.

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b7C

Los Angeles case-file 25-79414 concerns case captioned [redacted] et al, SSA, 1948 (OO:NY). Pertinent information in this Los Angeles file is available to San Francisco Office, SF file 25-29179.

On 9/21/66, [redacted] furnished the Los Angeles Office with a leaflet entitled "Statewide Conference on Power and Politics", which was distributed prior to the conference. This leaflet reflects that sponsors include WARREN HINCKLE and that the Statewide Conference on Power and Politics was initiated by Californians for Liberal Representation, (CLR).

b7D

The CLR is self-described in its literature as "an effective organization for liberal thought and action". Its literature reflects "From its inception, CLR was selective and pledged support only to those candidates who we believe by their past record and by their announced view point would be champions of civil rights, civil liberties and would peace. We then raised campaign funds, lent organizational assistance



LA 100-70748

and provided precinct workers for the candidates we supported". This organization claims to have made a contribution to politics in the State of California.

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Los Angeles indices had no record of [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

Los Angeles files contain a copy of a booklet of 128 pages, entitled "A Vietnam Primer" published by the editors of Ramparts Magazine. This copy is being retained in the Los Angeles files as it is assumed that San Francisco Office has a copy.

LEAD

LOS ANGELES

AT SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA: Will complete investigation set out in referenced letter.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. DeLoach *DeLoach*

DATE: February 16, 1968

FROM : Mr. Rosen

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Shroder
- 1 - Mr. Raupach
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

Mr. DeLoach  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Bishop  
Mr. Casper  
Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Conrad  
Mr. Felt  
Mr. Gale  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Sullivan  
Mr. Tavel  
Mr. Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Mr. Holmes  
Gandy

SUBJECT: IN THE SHADOW OF DALLAS:  
A PRIMER ON THE ASSASSINATION  
OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY" PUBLISHED  
BY "RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE

In the memorandum M. A. Jones to Mr. Bishop dated 11/6/67, (copy attached), it was indicated that "Ramparts" Magazine as an inducement to obtain subscriptions, offered either a copy of the captioned book or one called "A Vietnam Primer." The captioned book was described as a newly-revised collection of exclusive articles on the assassination and its aftermath which were taken from the pages of "Ramparts." It was recommended that a copy be obtained for reference purposes and review.

A copy has been obtained and reviewed. It contains nothing new and is nothing more than a rehash of old allegations made against the Warren Commission. The editors of "Ramparts" refer to individuals, whom we are well acquainted with, such as Edward J. Epstein, Mark Lane, Leo Sauvage, Penn Jones, Jr., Harold Weisberg and others who have been severely critical of the Warren Commission and its findings.

It was indicated that the serious criticisms of the Warren Commission recently made by the previously listed authors, cannot be resolved unless evidence is released. The editors are referring to material retained in the National Archives. The editors also said responsibility for the mounting doubts, theories and their confusions, must be placed first with the Warren Commission and with the President who has the power to invoke a new investigation and release the necessary evidence. Further, the Warren Commission compromised the truth about the assassination and that the Warren Commission also has done the country an enormous disservice.

ORIGINAL FILED IN 62-1090  
K. DeLoach  
J. Bishop  
J. Casper  
J. Callahan  
J. Conrad  
J. Felt  
J. Gale  
J. Rosen  
J. Sullivan  
J. Tavel  
J. Trotter  
Tele. Room  
J. Holmes  
Gandy

100-445393  
KMR/ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1/18/80 BY *me*  
NOT RECORDED  
FEB 27 1968  
INUED - OVER

55 MAR 11 1968

UNIT

Memorandum Rosen to DeLoach  
RE: "IN THE SHADOW OF DALLAS"

The editors indicated there seemed to be two conspiracies in connection with the assassination. One was to murder the President and the other was to cover up the blunders of various Federal and State Agencies which made the assassination possible, and to present the public with a panacea.

In this respect, the editors indicated the previously mentioned individuals were doing the job the Dallas police, the FBI and the Warren Commission should have done in the first place. This is typical of the approach "Ramparts" has taken, as well as William W. Turner, the former Agent and a self-centered, embittered individual, who has made subsequent scurrilous attacks upon the Director and the Bureau since his dismissal from the FBI. "Ramparts" revealed that Turner directed the field investigation for this report. We know that in recent weeks Turner has been closely associated with New Orleans District Attorney James C. Garrison, and information concerning Turner was previously furnished to the Department by communication dated 1/23/68.

The editors of "Ramparts" are pursuing the theory there were at least three assassins firing at President Kennedy and that he was caught in a crossfire. They feel there is persuasive evidence to this effect and, therefore, feel that a thorough re-investigation should be launched with full resources of the U. S. Government and private citizens at its disposal to discover the identity of the three or more assassins, and the identity of those who planned the crime and ordered its execution.

This is the same old line that has been followed by these critics, and they have not offered any concrete evidence to establish that a conspiracy was involved in the assassination. The Warren Commission based on testimony and evidence obtained, concluded Lee Harvey Oswald was responsible for the assassination and no evidence was obtained which would indicate that a conspiracy was involved.

#### ACTION

It is recommended no further action be taken in connection with the captioned book, and that it be furnished to the Bureau library for permanent retention and reference purposes.

55. *[Handwritten initials and marks]*  
- 2 - *[Handwritten initials and marks]*

2/21/68

Airtel

1 - Mr. P.D. Putnam  
1 - Mr. Thompson

To: SAC, San Francisco (157-459)

From: Director, FBI (100-445393)

"RAMPARTS" MAGAZINE, INC.  
IS - C

Enclosed is a copy of the February, 1968, issue of "Ramparts" which was furnished to the Bureau by the Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence (ACSI), U. S. Army.

This publication contains an article entitled "How The Pentagon Stopped Worrying And Learned To Love Peace Marchers." This article consists of an analysis of the October 21-22, 1967, March On Washington and was allegedly written by an individual who was serving in an intelligence assignment at the Pentagon during this demonstration. ACSI has advised that it has been ascertained that the author of this article used the pen name of Allen Woods, but investigation to date has failed to reveal the true identity of Woods or whether he was in fact stationed at the Pentagon at the time of the October 21-22, 1967, March On Washington.

San Francisco is instructed to immediately contact established sources and attempt to determine the true identity of the author of this article. Furnish the results of your investigation to the Bureau in form suitable for dissemination no later than 2/28/68.

Enclosure

CWT:jav (5)

NOTE: *g*

"Ramparts" is a new left publication which has been extremely critical of U. S. policy in Vietnam. ACSI has requested that we attempt to obtain additional identifying data regarding the author of an article which appeared in the 2/68 issue of "Ramparts" in order that a determination can be made as to whether a breach of security has occurred at the Pentagon.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7/18/80 BY *Luc*

TELETYPE UNIT

# Ramparts

23919

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 02-11-2011 BY 60324 UC/BAW/SAB/DE

A/T 5F 2/21/68  
re Ramparts Magazine  
Curt. Jav



*[Signature]*  
R. Potkin

*[Signature]*  
H.E.

*[Signature]*  
Ramparts

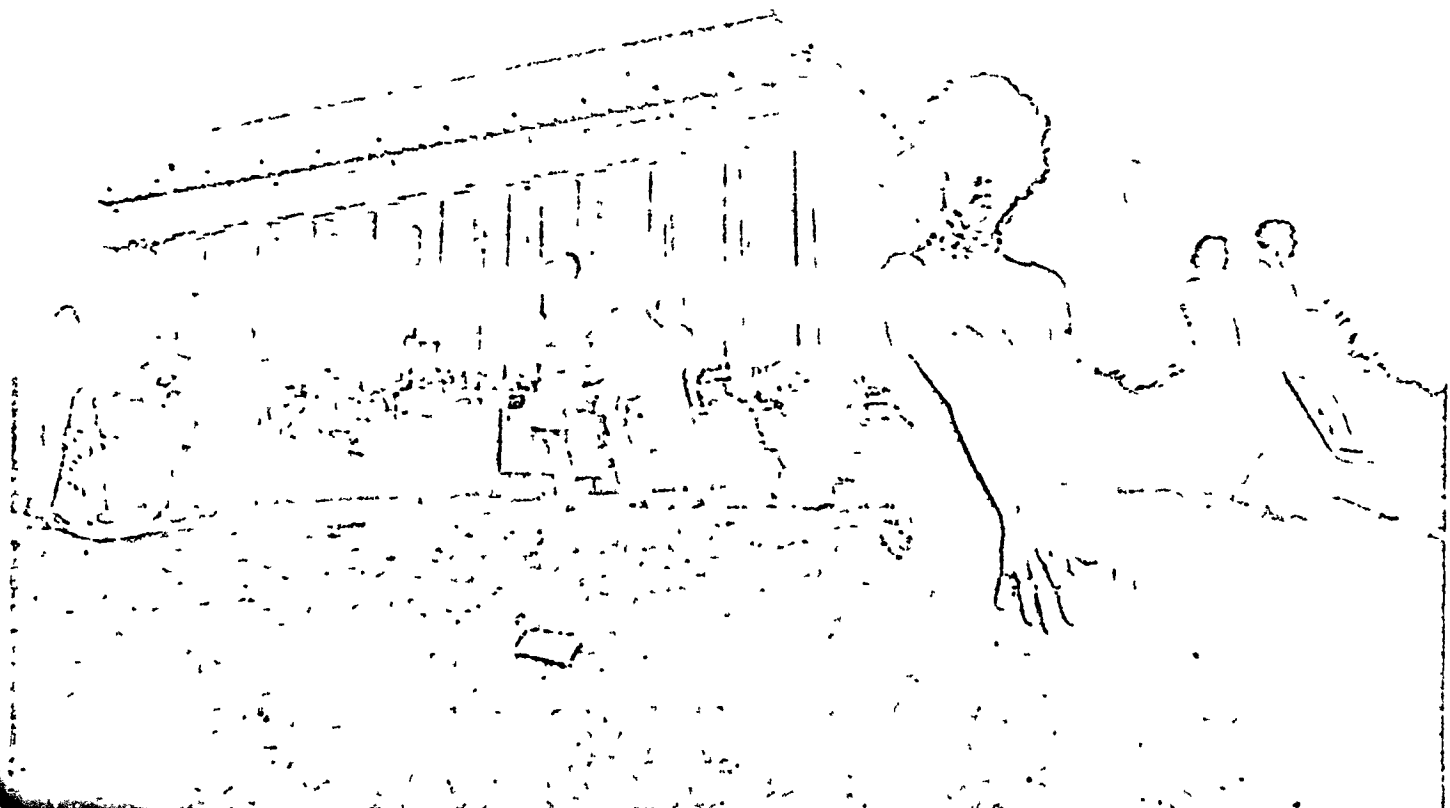
ENCLOSURE

100-445393-12

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 02-11-2011 BY 60324 UC/BAW/SAB/DF 23920

HOW THE  
PENTAGON  
STOPPED WORRYING  
AND LEARNED  
TO LOVE  
PEACE MARCHERS



EVERYTHING THAT HAPPENED in Washington from October 16 to October 23 was planned in detail by the Pentagon. Everyone who came to Washington that day walked smack into a Pentagon trap.

My awareness of the extent to which the demonstration was controlled by the Pentagon stems from my thorough familiarity with the Pentagon's plans—and the demonstrators'—well before the demonstration. I was, at the time, stationed at the Pentagon in a highly placed intelligence-and-security unit. Our job, essentially, was to observe, report and coordinate information; we had been planning for the demonstration since August, and at Thanksgiving we were still collating reports of arrests. I read several thousand pages of government reports, I knew what was expected of us and of the protesters, and I was appalled to see how neatly the government had the peace movement pegged.

During the demonstration itself, I was stationed at various times in two of the command posts, on the roof, on the press truck, at the mall, with the demonstrators ("observing" in civilian clothes), inside, outside and through the MP lines. I went a lot of places the demonstrators and press couldn't go, and everywhere they could. I had coffee with the marshals. I found out from the soldiers on the line how they really felt about the demonstration—and why they went away feeling scorn for the peace movement. I watched reporters as their moods changed from sympathy to disgust.

Because of my job, I know too much about the war. To help shorten it I want to tell why the confrontation of October 21 backfired, and to outline the change of tactics needed for Pentagon demonstrations that won't backfire.

OBJECTIVELY SPEAKING, PERHAPS the best thing that could have happened on October 21 would have been for somebody to have been killed. For American soldiers to have shot unarmed American civilians exercising their right of free speech would have been a blow from which the administration could never recover. Yet, almost totally, the Pentagon either prevented violence or convincingly argued that the fault was the protesters'.

The Pentagon not only knew what moves were being planned against it; it also demonstrated consummate virtuosity in handling both the protection of the building and the manipulation of news. Since basically the same preparations will be made for future confrontations, it is important to examine them.

First of all, there was intelligence. Intelligence reported that a demonstration would take place. The Pentagon started its overall planning, which became more specific as more EEI (Essential Elements of Information) came in. Basically, the Pentagon found out the date of the demonstration and the approximate number of participants, together with their organizational affiliations, leaders and means of transportation.

This estimate was considerably more accurate than the estimate of the sponsors of the march, since it was based on chats with the operators of nearly every bus company in the United States, visits to the "ride to Washington" bulletin boards of colleges and other gathering places, and religious attendance at meetings of the participating groups.

Although the Department of Defense likes publicly to minimize the danger, and especially to provide low estimates of the number of demonstrators, privately they put some of their best planners and security officers on the job. The planners

dreamed; they accepted the mundane and the fantastic. Beginning with a list of every possible move the marchers could make, they outlined the steps required to restore the status quo (which is in all cases what the Army will try to do), and they determined the logistics requirements: how many men, for how long, which units, what equipment.

In Vietnam, this procedure has failed; on the Pentagon lawn it worked perfectly. The Army had the marchers' moves planned for weeks ahead and, because of the massive coordination of its intelligence and communications nets, knew better than any single demonstrating group the plans of every group of participants, from the Michigan busloads to the East Village hippies. The minor details, such as who would try to break in and who would be arrested, were left up to the demonstrators.

At the most obvious level, the demonstration was manipulated from the start by the negotiations of General Services Administration (GSA) counsel Harry Van Cleve Jr, with representatives of the Coordinating Committee. What was not so obvious is that Van Cleve had specific reasons for every requirement and detail he laid down. Briefly, he wanted the demonstration where he could control it; and probably with the unwitting cooperation of the demonstration's leaders, he got it there. The ground was ideal for defense: a high wall separated the mass of demonstrators from the building, narrow approaches prevented a large-scale charge, there was a clear field of observation from the building and ready access for reinforcements by truck or on foot.

AS AN AMUSED OBSERVER of the Pentagon's feverish planning, I have to admit that the Pentagon's main fault was one of excess. We had plans to counteract everything, with minimum visible force (for the benefit of the press) and with a hefty reserve just out of sight.

For public relations purposes, the front line of MPs, except at night and during the clashes, wore the Class A uniform rather than fatigues. It is the usual day-to-day uniform of MPs in garrison; they wear the same thing directing traffic into Arlington Cemetery, except that at the Pentagon they wore helmet liners instead of caps.

We expected civil disobedience in the form of breaking into, throwing rocks at, or painting and defacing anything in reach. We anticipated arrests in numbers quite close to the actual outcome. We accurately estimated the number of demonstrators. In addition, we considered racist violence extremely probable; and we were ready for people who might try to burn themselves to death.

We had the orders, neatly mimeographed: anyone setting himself on fire was to be extinguished with blankets. At convenient locations barely out of sight, blankets were ready. Conferences with firefighting authorities revealed that CO<sub>2</sub> fire extinguishers freeze the victim, and soda-acid types damage the skin. Plain water turns the victim into a boiled frankfurter. Norman Morrison burned himself here, at the river entrance, and caught the Pentagon off guard; it was reported to security officials as "a small fire of undetermined origin." But self-immolation will not upset the Pentagon again.

Attorney General Ramsey Clark was in charge of the security of Washington over the weekend, with Undersecretary of the Army David E. McGilfert having nominal control of the troops. Like all the service secretaries, however, McGilfert

is a civilian. The military commander was the commanding general of the Military District of Washington, Major General Charles S. O'Malley Jr. Lieutenant General John L. Throckmorton, commander of the Third Army (much appreciated for his handling of the Detroit riot after the National Guard bungled it) was also in Washington over the weekend. Throckmorton was reportedly invited by the White House to "see if he could lend a hand"; in military terms, he has three stars to O'Malley's two, and he was the man to contend with—as he probably will be again whenever or wherever the President needs protection from his people.

In trucks and jeeps Throckmorton's troops jammed into the Pentagon, beginning some time after dark on Friday. They slept on the floor, on air mattresses, or not at all—creating an exciting and dramatic atmosphere in the usually drab corridors. Field kits, helmets, rifles, tear gas machines (looking like flamethrowers), cases of C rations—everything was there to give us that defender-of-the-castle feeling. At one time or another, there were approximately 2500 men, in addition to the 3000 Pentagon personnel who regularly work on weekends.

Among the extras were the Military District of Washington security force in the Pentagon (MPs who regularly work the Pentagon area, and who probably know more about its geography, secret entrances and gas-susceptible air ducts than anyone else in Washington), Pentagon counterintelligence and security people, and public information officers from the office of the secretary of Defense, working under Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs Phil Goulding. Representatives of the Army Photographic Agency provided propaganda coverage, not to mention, as Arlo Guthrie says, the aerial photography: various military helicopter and aerial reconnaissance pilots passed over from time to time.

With an eye to economy, the Pentagon shipped in forces from such nearby bases as Fort Hood, Texas (the 518th MP Battalion), and the Presidio of San Francisco (70th MP Bn.). Virginia provided elements of the 74th Transportation Bn. from Fort Eustis and the 91st Engineer Bn. from Fort Belvoir. The best-looking troops, remarkably well-disciplined, were from the 503rd MP Bn. at Fort Bragg; they did much of the work at the mall entrance, and as far as I can tell they never slept. Men from the 519th MP Bn. at Fort Dix and the 6th Armored Cavalry at Fort Meade were also seen. About 3000 members of the 82nd Airborne spent their weekend in tents along the runways at Andrews Air Force Base, across the Potomac and considerably south of the Pentagon, where enough helicopters had been assembled to transport them anywhere in Washington, a battalion at a time.

Although practically no one was aware of it, some 25,000 additional troops were denied their weekend passes and placed on alert status from one end of the country to the other. Contingency plans were formulated to airlift them in at the first sign of massive trouble. The nature of this trouble, if it came, was not expected from the peace demonstration, but rather from an anticipated split movement by black nationalists to destroy Washington. With a 60 per cent black population, Washington had squeaked through a nonviolent summer with a great deal more nervousness than it publicly admits. There were military units standing by all through the hot weather, ready to move at the first wise remark to a big white cop.

Logistic support for the Pentagon defenders included more than 500 trucks, buses and jeeps. Finally, a reserve of bull-

dozers was held at the south post of Fort Myer, for use either in Washington or at the Pentagon if it became necessary to move large numbers of people out of the way.

Not only military personnel protected the Pentagon; there were also the famous U.S. marshals who even scared me. All arrests on federal property fall under their jurisdiction; MPs can detain civilians but cannot arrest them.

Besides the marshals, there were, in larger numbers than usual, the U.S. Special Police, also known as the Pentagon Guard Force or the GSA Police (for General Services Administration). They are the men in blue who carry off most of the demonstrators at small Pentagon get-togethers. They are underpaid, sloppily trained and not to be taken seriously as a security force; but they do carry revolvers, and might be a considerable health hazard if frightened.

D.C. metropolitan police, Arlington County police, Virginia State police and U.S. park police (responsible for national park lands and often seen on the mall riding horses) all participated. Although not under the military chain of command, they established liaison and worked out their respective responsibilities beforehand. The Bureau of Corrections had extra people at Occoquan Workhouse, which they emptied of its regular inmates for the occasion. Also on hand was a supply of prosecuting attorneys and U.S. commissioners to roll out the justice. Lawyers from the Justice Department mingled with the crowds; D.C. police, FBI agents and special agents of the 116th and 902nd Military Intelligence Groups also circulated in the crowd, looking respectively for trouble spots, hard-core communists and threats of violence on a scale to require the services of the 82nd Airborne.

For the most part, the command post was a means of keeping the major commanders alert to what was happening: a sort of glorified telephone exchange. All the major decisions had been made beforehand, and it was the task of subordinate commanders to execute them.

SOME REPORTERS GLEEFULLY mentioned that a map of the District had replaced Vietnam on the "war room" wall. In fact, the map of the District had been there all summer—because of the fear of ghetto riots—and the maps of Vietnam can be found elsewhere in the complex.

The Army Operations Center (of "war room") conjures up an image of diabolical generals sitting at a tremendous table pushing buttons to alter the world's geography to their liking. Actually, it is a suite of connecting rooms, offices and conference rooms in which various Army representatives—logistics, operations, intelligence, manpower and the like—each have compartmented areas. A staggering series of switchboards provides communications potentials which would take a scientist to appreciate: direct lines go everywhere you could want them to. Teletype machines, pneumatic tube systems and electronic data retrieving and processing equipment clutter the tiny rooms, carpeted in ubiquitous Pentagon green.

This is only the Army Operations Center. The Air Force Command Center, the office of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the National Military Command Systems Support Center, the Washington end of the Moscow "hot line" and myriad other "nerve centers" in the building were not even operationally aware that anything unusual was up at the Pentagon. The claim that Pentagon procedures were hardly modified—and certainly not disrupted—by the demonstration is entirely true.



To understand this, you have to overcome a misconception about the Pentagon. Too many people think the importance of the Pentagon is a function of its size. It is the largest office building in the world, with more than 30,000 employees, both military and civilian. But most of them are engaged in routine: determining which inductees will go to which schools, contracting for hardware, ordering pencils. Untold numbers are involved in serving each other: working in finance, payroll, supplies; rearranging offices; selling food in the cafeterias; picking up garbage; painting and rebuilding. In the basement there is a complete printing plant which turns out much of the Defense Department's classified literature, and at the south loading ramp the pulping plant shreds the same classified literature and turns it into huge bales of ugly gray sludge.

Behind this bureaucracy is the power of the Department of Defense. The Big Brass, virtually all of it, works within the Pentagon. Decisions are made which profoundly affect national policy; it is this focus of decision, not the building's size, which makes the Pentagon critical, symbolically and in fact.

Yet decisions are never made quickly; nor are there more than a few dozen people in the entire Pentagon who make them. Masses of information are tabulated; studies of appalling complexity and irrelevance are made; plans are set forth to cover, on a global scale, "contingencies." We are prepared: when Monaco attacks Gibraltar, we will know what to do. Contingency planning is a favorite sport here, because no one is wrong until the contingency arrives—and when it does, everyone is too involved with the emergency to blame the planners. I have only seen one contingency plan that approached reality: the one for October 21.

When the world's contingencies are prepared in three-ring binders, and the workers have tabulated everything countable, and the computers whir to a brief rest, everything goes to the decision-makers. In major cases, the President is consulted (or consults them). Otherwise, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who are military, and the Defense secretary's people, who are civilians, try to thwart each other. Finally, somehow, things are decided. This is not a process which a weekend demonstration, or even a week-long demonstration, can disrupt. In any case, an alternate command center, away from Washington, is always ready. Remember that the Pentagon is fully confident of continuing all its essential operations without interruption in the face of a nuclear warhead exploded in Washington.

At colleges and local draft boards civil disobedience can, indeed, throw the bureaucrats into a panic; but to disrupt the Pentagon by aggressive civil disobedience is a project which, viewed in the light of the Pentagon's countermeasures, is laughable. Even if you accept the challenge posed by the Pentagon's elaborate preparations, you end up, sooner or later, in front of a U.S. marshal.

ON FRIDAY, WHEN THE MARSHALS arrived, they were wearing yellow armbands, white helmets and brandishing new billy clubs. By Sunday night their clubs weren't new. One marshal had a streak of somebody's blood that crossed from one side of his conservative business suit to the other.

These men had worked Selma and the University of Mississippi, strikes, riots, every kind of disturbance. Their work is dealing with mobs. They are all professionals; there are no young marshals, no draftees. They're efficient; they're savage;

and they know the people they face are criminals.

The marshals handled almost all of the clubbing that was done. Their method, however, was one which, from the outside of the line, made it look as though the soldiers were doing the dirty work. For example: on Saturday night, for reasons no one admits to knowing, a press conference was called inside, and the troops started moving outside. Their purpose was to get the demonstrators off the blacktop in front of the mall entrance. The soldiers walked slowly forward, shoulder to shoulder. The demonstrators, if they were standing, were pushed back. Realizing this, many of them sat down. They were stepped over. The marshals moved in after the troops, clubbing people for "crossing the line," and carried several dozen off to the vans. One demonstrator yelled that if you sat still you couldn't be clubbed. He was wrong.

Even if each demonstrator had been armed with a deuce-and-a-half-ton truck, the marshals would have come out ahead. They use their clubs with expertise, and they don't entertain the qualms MPs have about slugging people. Sometimes they hit with the club fully extended, but hardly ever on the head, because clubs are not light weapons. They hit ribs and arms, and heads only when they can't aim properly. Often they aim at a shoulder, which effectively puts a demonstrator out of action, but hit the head (if a marshal aims at your shoulder, don't move; you might get hurt). They also have a method of shortening up on the club and jamming the end of it into the solar plexus.

I have to tell you about a girl who was arrested by the marshals on Saturday night. Four of them carried her to the vans, spreadeagled; they had her skirt bundled up around her waist and her legs wide apart because they were trying to put her into two different vans at once. She was a very pretty girl, not a symbol, not a hippie—but concerned, very scared. It was dark then, about midnight.

When the reporters saw this young girl and caught sight of her panties—I heard someone say "Beaver shot!"—they turned their floodlights on and the cameras started whirring. One reporter ran right up there in between her legs to get a good shot. They'd never use the pictures; no editor in the country would print them. They kicked around the darkrooms for a couple of weeks. Laughs.

Getting arrested at the Pentagon isn't pretty. Even the satisfaction of being a martyr was minimal: arrests were processed at the south loading ramp. Ordinarily that's where they process the Pentagon's garbage.

Tactically, arrest was futile. For civil disobedience on a Pentagon scale to be useful, one of three things must happen. You can come in small numbers, be arrested, and follow through merely as moral witnesses. You can come in large enough numbers to make the authorities look incompetent. Or you can show the authorities to be brutal.

This is not as easy as it seems; despite the undeniable bloodshed on October 21, hardly anyone except the participants came away convinced that the Pentagon had used excessive muscle. This was partly due to advance preparation of the press: they were told more or less what the Pentagon had available, and to be so restrained in the use of it was the government's greatest public relations victory. Yet, for the press, the government took it one step further, and actually tamed the marshals for a while.

On Sunday night, when the deadline expired, those who

wished to walk to the vans were permitted to do so; and those who refused were carried off with great care. It happened that the vans were loaded directly in front of the press truck.

I was inside the lines, next to the vans, and I could hear the marshals grunt to each other, "Don't throw him, be careful." The order had obviously come down that there was to be no chance for the press to prove police brutality—and there wasn't.

**I**F THE PENTAGON WAS SHREWD in its handling of the press, the demonstrators were at best indifferent, and frequently contemptuous. Yet many of their leaders claimed that publicity for the cause was a prime reason for the demonstration: something big for the people to see, a step up from hassles with General Hershey's minions at the local boards. A lot of the demonstrators, possibly most of them, hoped to reach the press—and through them the public.

The initial bias of press people I spoke to—who vaguely knew I was "connected with" the Pentagon—was toward cynicism. They knew their material. They were hoping for a bit of violence, because it makes a good story. They were, on the whole, as ready to write about brutal arrests of innocent girls as about the terrible state of American youth, since both make popular reading, despite the fact that the entire fourth estate generally receives from the President and his Defense Department special passes, credentials, admissions, background briefings, off-the-record seminars and periodic wedding invitations. The administration provides untold amounts of ready-made news—and it will be there as a necessary news source when the demonstrators are suburban householders. This demonstration was no exception (with Pentagon press passes). Briefings were helpful, friendly and sympathetic. The authorities outdid themselves to have typewriters, batteries of telephones and every other comfort ready.

Yet, to suppose that the press in general, and the Washington press in particular—men and women whose day-to-day jobs involve listening to an assembly of the best con men in the nation—can be gulled into believing anything the Pentagon wants, is to underestimate the press. They turned their backs on the demonstration not only because of what the Pentagon said, but because of what they saw themselves.

A derogatory label, accurately applicable to the fringes of the demonstration, has been tagged on to the whole affair. The papers tabulated how many panties and bras were discovered all over the Pentagon grass, not how many honest people came, did their thing and left.

Personally, I couldn't care less about a demonstrator's sex life; but he has no business attaching it, like a footnote, to everybody else's protest. And the lovemaking wasn't symbolic, because nobody makes love symbolically. The walls around the place were scrawled with things like, "Johnson fucks." Well, he probably does, but it's not a turn of phrase likely to gather support for his opponents.

Granted that the thousands came purely out of a moral concern. They talked to the soldiers, to the press, to America—and they bored the living daylights out of everyone.

**I**N A MASS MOVEMENT, the most unexpected thing is individuality. The failure to have one person confront one other person, without the background of tramping feet or chanting in unison, was a major failure of the October demonstration.

I was behind the MP lines during the afternoon, in a relatively quiet spot. The officers and NCOs were maybe 50 yards off, taking a break; nobody was there but those young MPs of the 503rd, shoulder to shoulder.

A girl came over to one soldier and propositioned him in a pretty fair demonstration of barracks language. The gist of it was that if he put down his rifle, she'd let him have it over in the bushes. Of course, none of the soldiers said anything. So, after trying this with several of the boys, she left, calling them all machines and fascists and fairies, and feeling smug.

A Saigon bar girl makes you feel more loved. The girl in Washington was pitting "love"—impersonal—against "war"—impersonal—and ending up with a total failure to communicate. She confused military discipline with inhumanity, and so—as one of the soldiers who listened to her—I must say that she didn't give us half a chance.

A more profitable approach would be: Chat. Rap. Relax. One-to-one offense. Not the Big One: war and peace. The little ones, you and me. The soldier is wary, but curious, especially if the demonstrator is a pretty girl: "My name is . . . I am here because . . . I have done a few things for peace . . . I remember some demonstrations where the soldiers weren't as fair as your group is." Every decent preacher knows a story beats a lecture; you need his interest before you can change his mind. The soldier knows you'll tell him war is bad. He listens when a pretty girl tells him something interesting about herself.

If I seem to speak mostly of girls, it is because during that weekend I didn't hear one male demonstrator who could keep his antagonism out of it. In any case, the soldier will remain impassive—but watch his eyes. They will tell you whether to go on talking—or whether the man has already reenlisted.

A soldier wants to know a girl's name and address. If you have somebody there who can read Army patches, you may be able to find out where he is stationed. Get the addresses of girls in the area who are willing to spend some times with soldiers, and spread the addresses around (if you live in a big city, you can practice by infiltrating the local USO, an altogether untapped gold mine for discreet young pacifists).

Tell the soldier how to contact you, how to reach you on his free time, or at least how to reach a peace group in the area where he is stationed (remember that he can't write things down out there, and passing written information will cause him grief if anyone finds out; the best time to give out information is when the shifts change).

Do not mistake him for a war machine. Preach, degrade, insult—and you lose. Those MPs had been robbed of their weekend passes; they slept on the floor and the Pentagon cafeterias were put off limits. So many sore feet. Soldiers think in simple terms: *Once you attacked, we knew why we were there.*

**T**HE MAJOR OBJECTION TO AGGRESSIVE civil disobedience at the Pentagon is that the Pentagon knows how to handle it. The goal must be, apart from a simple affirmation of dissent, to catch the Pentagon off guard: to amaze it, shock it, jar it into constructive thought.

Morrison's self-immolation accomplished all of these things except the last; the only thought he elicited was how to extinguish crackpots. Thus another element of the approach: the maneuver must not appear to be that of an isolated extremist. A sense of humor will help, together with style (not more moralizing, for everyone in Washington knows that war is bad;

they have not quite convinced them (that it is also unnecessary). A successful "attack" on the Pentagon will involve surprise, originality (something left out of the contingency plans) and (for the press) dramatic impact.

Along these lines, my familiarity with the ground and the defending forces has suggested two general approaches, neither of them seriously illegal and neither preventable unless the Pentagon knows in advance the exact time and place of the gesture. For this reason, they cannot take place in conjunction with a major demonstration; in fact, to make surprise possible, these gestures are limited to a few participants. Once they are started, someone should notify every press representative in Washington—with courtesy notification to the FBI and the Pentagon guard office (EX3-7100 and OX7-4151 respectively).

The first gesture might be called the Suburban Napalm Ploy. Well aware of the effect that massive fire can have in the jungle, the Pentagon would probably be stunned by the effect of a little fire in suburbia: specifically, on the access roads which serve the Pentagon. It would take seven expendable autos—the S70 kind that can barely crawl away from the junkyard.

A little advance reconnaissance will tell you when people start leaving the Pentagon; it varies with the season, but the usual time is just before five o'clock. As everyone is leaving, drive into the access roads and have an accident. Then let the car go up in flames.

Have a friend on a motorcycle nearby. Nothing else can leave the scene quickly in Washington's evening traffic. The Pentagon very nearly disrupts itself automatically when everyone tries to go home at once, and a little push would make a big splash. Just one car, abandoned at the "mixing bowl" on Shirley Highway, to the west of the Pentagon, would make a very satisfactory spectacle; but for the perfectionist, here are the seven locations: (1) On the Boundary Channel Road at the corner of the north parking area, near where the speakers' stand was set up on October 21. (2) On the Boundary Channel Road beyond the approach to the river entrance. (3) At the entrance to the bus and taxi lanes running under the concourse. (4) On the roadway between the mall and river entrances, blocking the approach to both. (5) At the west approach to the mall entrance, where the vans of arrested demonstrators departed. (6) At the exit from south parking as it passes under Shirley Highway. (7) At the exit from south parking near the heliport.

The second gesture can be called the My-God-I'm-Patriotic Ploy. At its simplest: Come visit the Pentagon. It's open to the public. Arrive between eight in the morning and six in the evening, Monday through Friday. You can wander through the whole building (except for a few restricted areas, of course).

Variations on this ploy depend on how soon the GSA guards notice your presence. They have a stereotyped impression of pacifists and their appearance, and if you look wrong to them, they will probably try to evict you. At this point you begin to scream about your rights as an American. Know who your congressman is, and demand to telephone him immediately. Call the newspapers. You have the Pentagon in the position of trampling an American's rights, and until you do something illegal you can bring its employees unimaginable publicity and grief. It is hard to imagine, unless you have seen it, the degree of consternation and confusion caused in high Pentagon officials when "obvious Commie rat-bastard pacifists" visit their domain without doing anything illegal.

If you are in the Pentagon during legal hours, the GSA guards may be told to follow you discreetly and to make no moves until you do something naughty. Just keep walking: walk around corners, use the stairs, step into the men's room (if you're a man) or have dinner in the cafeteria (the food is inexcusable). If you are there with friends, split up and meet back at the concourse later on. You'll lose the guard and he will have the whole force looking for you.

If you find yourself in the building after six o'clock, tell the guards you were lost. Play innocent.

If no one challenges you, you can cause a remarkable disturbance by staying inside the building after security hours—six o'clock—when guards are posted at the gate and passes are required to enter or leave. If you dress sedately, you'll never be noticed. If you look unusual, stay in the men's or ladies' room until after closing.

Since anyone is free to enter before six p.m. and leave after eight in the morning, a range of adventures presents itself. Few of the offices will be locked, so you can paint interesting emblems in them; or you can remove all the furniture; or collect used newspapers, crumple them and fill somebody's office with them. Or, of course, you can simply telephone the guard office and challenge them to a game of hide-and-seek. The possibilities are infinite. All you have to know is that anyone can get into the building during the day, and, with a little imagination, play all night. I would discourage ordinary vandalism; to carry the thing out with humor and style would hit the Pentagon in its weak spot and make the impregnable fortress look as silly as it really is.

The peace movement as a whole has mangled its use of the best ready-made symbol going: the American flag. The flag has a violent effect on the emotions of people who have never thought much about what it means and don't even know what America's foreign policy is. There is no excuse for scorning the flag because of a personal opinion of the thing. If a bunch of people walk down the street carrying the flag, people will feel proud of them. If they burn it people will hate them.

The effect on the press—particularly the photographers—and the public of 30,000 American flags advancing on the Pentagon would be overwhelming. A nice gesture afterward would be to walk to Arlington Cemetery and place the flags on some of those new graves.

And how would it look on television for all those marshals to be clubbing little girls with American flags?

Also: telephones. 30,000 telephone calls would tie up the Pentagon better than 300,000 people on the lawn. The Government Printing Office in Washington sells, for about a dollar, Department of Defense telephone books which have every number you need to know. You may not be able to talk to anyone, but neither will anyone else.

In areas where the police are less well prepared, aggressive civil disobedience may be very effective. But at the Pentagon it is always, inevitably, going to fail. The Pentagon is just too well-prepared.

Of course there's always the moral satisfaction of having participated on October 21. It was a significant moral victory for the peace movement, right?

Remember high school, when the football team scored a moral victory?

It meant you lost the game.

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